National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 17. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1863. WHOLE NO. 1,213.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT $2 50 PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York,

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

106 *North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.*

LETTERS should be addressed to OLIVER JOHNSON, *Editor of The Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman-st., New York.

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Selections.

HOW SHALL THE UNION BE RESTORED?

LETTER OF A. J. HAMILTON, OF TEXAS, TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

NEW YORK, July 28, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: The deep interest felt by me, as a Southern Union man, in the result of measures adopted by you for the maintenance of the National authority in all the States, by the complete and permanent suppression of the rebellion against the Union and the Constitution will, I trust, excuse the freedom of this letter and my request for your patient consideration of what I write.

I am sure that your desire to have the great issues involved in the present struggle properly and forever settled is not less ardent and constant than my own. Our common wish has common roots in our common aspirations for the honor, prosperity, and unity of the Republic; that which you cherish derives peculiar strength from the great responsibilities of the chief magistracy, and that which animates every pulsation of my heart derives a strength not less peculiar from the fact that the rebellion which imperils our country desolates my once happy home—deprives of their liberties and puts in jeopardy of their lives my family, my kindred, my friends and my neighbors.

But it will avail little to procure a temporary adjustment; and I am prompted to address you now because I observe in some quarters indications of a disposition to accept, if not to invite, a peace which would inevitably lead to new convulsions more disastrous than the present.

By some persons of considerable political prominence, and by some leading presses, a systematic effort appears to be put forth to reconcile the public mind to the idea that the future policy of the government may be formed on the basis of a compromise with the cause of the existing rebellion, which will admit of the reëstablishment of slavery in the States where it has been abolished by your proclamation of January last.

To pave the way, apparently, for such a compromise, Northern sympathizers with rebellion, and some, too, who cannot justly be so designated, constantly endeavor to impress on the public mind the notion that our National and State Constitutions were made for the white race alone; and that therefore other races can have no rights under them.

[We omit Mr. Hamilton's argument on this latter point, because it is already familiar to our readers. We omit also his earnest and timely protest against the schemes of colonization which are so strenuously urged in some quarters.]

What shall be said of the final proposition—"Full pardon to the rebels, and the abrogation of your proclamation of emancipation?" There is nothing of opposition to free government, or of wrong to humanity and civilization, that is not embraced in this proposition. It justifies the rebellion in its acts and purposes; it asks, in effect, that the government shall become the accuser of those who have labored most zealously to sustain and preserve it. It asks the government to do more—to descend to a depth of infamy beyond that ever reached by any other—to admit in the face of Christendom, that the proclamation of freedom to the slave was a deliberate cheat, meant only to dupe for the time being the anti-slavery sentiment of the world, and especially to deceive the negro, to the end that he might be induced to engage in the contest, the sooner to force the rebel master to receive him back, and to acknowledge that he holds him under the Constitution of the United States.

In this connection, it is well to remember that this *anti-slavery sentiment* is the fixed condition of the public mind of the civilized world. And to this sentiment, more than to all other causes, do we owe the fact that *non-intervention* by foreign governments in the great struggle now pending here has so far been maintained.

At the period when the governing classes of some of the governments of the Old World, sympathizing with the aristocratic principle of slavery, and deeply interested in the preservation of the privileges of class, were just ready to proclaim intervention in American affairs, the proclamation of freedom to the slaves, issued by you as President of the United States and in solemn form, and the concurrent assertion of the rebels in the South, of their determination to maintain slavery as the corner-stone of their new government, so awakened that deep sentiment of hostility to slavery in the masses of the people of those governments, and so attracted their active sympathies to this government as to effectually forestall intervention.

And to this sentiment, thus aroused and stimulated by your grand proclamation, and now outspoken in England, do we owe it to-day to be thankful that we see the Emancipation party holding—*and holding firmly*, under the able guidance of John Bright—the balance of power in that government.

In France, too, even Imperial power has not, so far, openly opposed the general sympathy on the side of freedom. If we are destined to encounter foreign enemies in this struggle, it will be most likely when by a vacillating policy in support of the proclamation, or its abandonment, we have forfeited the confidence, the respect, and moral aid of the friends of freedom throughout the world. With the sympathies of Christendom with us, intervention is but a possibility—against us, it is a certainty.

The effect which a disavowal and retraction of the proclamation would have upon the public mind of other nations is evident. It would at once paralyze the efforts of those who have hitherto stayed the action of their governments in proposed interference in our affairs.

It would weaken, if not destroy, the liberal party of France and England—it would surely convert them from friends to enemies of this government, and thus break down the most powerful barrier to intervention and foreign war. Thus self-interest and national safety should alone suffice to prevent such madness.

But there is an argument higher than these which appeals directly to every Christian heart—an argument used by yourself in the terms of the proclamation.

"*Upon this act—sincerely believed* (so runs the instrument) *to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity—I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.*"

Thus did the chief of a Christian people, before mankind, and in sight of God, proclaim freedom to the slave, and by his official signature to the great act commit himself to its wisdom, its justice and its constitutionality, and to the efficiency of its provisions.

That act was in pursuance of an act of Congress authorizing it. The power in the Congress to declare war carries with it the power to provide the means and prescribe the necessary measures to make the war effective. It was in the exercise of this power that Congress acted. The war-making power, which is also the law-making power of the government, said to the President, the Commander-in-Chief of its armies, Do this thing, and it was done. It is unprofitable to attempt to prove to those who are unwilling to believe, that the act was constitutional. The majority of the people of the United States and of the civilized world so believe it and so sanction it.

If your proclamation was not then a mere assumption of power, but a valid act, done in the exercise of constitutional discretion, what power can abrogate or annul it? The act, if constitutionally done, is as irrevocable as is the act of the President in signing an act passed by the Congress. In either case discretion and power cease with the act. When the proclamation was issued, it became the *law* of freedom to the slaves therein embraced—a law which I repeat is irrevocable by any power in the government. Laws which are general in their character and create no vested right in the citizen, may be changed or repealed—but those which create personal rights and vest them in the citizen are protected from infraction by constitutional guarantees. A legislative grant to land cannot be revoked at the pleasure of the power making the grant. The enfranchisement of hundreds of thousands of people by the government—the solemn act which raises them from slavery to freedom—is surely not less sacred and inviolable. There is no power in this government to make slaves of freemen, white or black. While the civilized world has hailed the act with joy, it would shudder at an effort to recall it or impair its vital force. The policy of such a course would be as fatal to the peace and welfare of the country as the act would be atrocious in principle.

Those who propose it surely cannot yet comprehend the real design of the rebellion, and the change which it has produced in the relations of the different classes in the South. A restoration of "the Union as it was," to use a cant phrase of the day, is not a possible thing. If it means a restoration with slavery, then it will not be a Union of peace, prosperity and happiness, but a Union of discord, hatred and violence in the South which will sink it in barbarism. Can we hope for peace between the sections now at war, with slavery still existing? But if it were possible, how can it be expected that the rebels and loyal men of the South can live in peace in the future, the cause of the trouble—*slavery*—still in existence, the rebel masters more intolerent, jealous and brutal than ever before, with arrogance increased by the victory which they will have achieved over the people and government of the United States and the moral and political opinions of the civilized world? I know well that there are those who are impatient when "loyal men South" are mentioned in the consideration of these questions. Nevertheless, I insist most respectfully, but earnestly, that they *are* worthy of consideration because of their devotion to liberty and their government, because of their sacrifices and sufferings, and because they constitute the only future strength of the government in the South. They are to-day the *majority* of the South, whatever may be said or thought to the contrary. Their vindication is certain, if slow. Time will prove that the great body of the citizens of the South will gratefully return to the Union of their fathers, while it will more fully develop the undying hatred to free government of less than 300,000 slaveholders.

We need not further shut our eyes to the nature and disposition of the antagonistic forces now in conflict in this war. Men need not wonder at the convulsion resulting from the conspiracy, created solely by the pro-slavery spirit that plotted the rebellion. This conspiracy is now known to have embraced various objects in its scope. The determination to hold in boudage four million of colored people with their increase, and to make such bondage perpetual, was the main object of the conspiracy. This determination formed the basis of all other measures, whether of intrigue, war or diplomacy. It entered into every plan and calculation of the rebel leaders. The attempt to destroy the national unity grew out of the conspiracy against the colored man, and became necessary to accomplish the scheme of his perpetual bondage. There was an obstacle in the way. There were seven million of non-slaveholders in the South. How could it be otherwise than that this population should, at no distant day, stand upon its rights and dictate that policy which should accord with its interests? It was the apprehension of this that led to the conspiracy against the political rights of these masses. It was a truth fully realized by the leading conspirators that slavery could not long exist against a union of the free labor forces North and South, blended by common sympathy; therefore the national unity must be destroyed. They said, "Slavery and Democracy are incompatible," and this involved the necessity of a monopoly of political power by the slaveholders in order to maintain in perpetuity their political property in slaves. These are the motives which led them to attempt the destruction of the government.

What has the nation now to say to this active intrigue to postpone the destruction of slavery, which is the antagonist of free government? Can it be possible that any man of sense or judgment desires such postponement? I ask you to contemplate the fruits of that narrow policy which has disfranchised a large portion of the white population South. I ask our countrymen to consider the educational neglect and political debauchment of the South, which have changed it from an element of national strength into an agency for the attempted accomplishment of national ruin. Compare the condition of the Southern white masses in their industrial interests with that of other sections. Let the political economist tell us what it is that gives the annual *per capita* production of $166.00 to every man, woman and child in Massachusetts, while in South Carolina productive labor yields a *per capita* of $56.00 only. He will trace this disparity to the direct influence of slavery. The political philosopher may carry the inquiry further, and show why it is that so much of the population of the North has become a questionable element of national strength. He will find the reason for it in a long-continued sympathy with slavery. The encouragement of the slave system of the South by the North has progressed until it has so far contaminated not only Southern but even Northern society, as to seriously imperil the security of the nation.

It might have been supposed that the teachings of events would have set us right ere this. It seems, however, that the calamities of the country have had no power to instruct the political intriguers. Upon such the active treason of the South, its attempt to destroy the nationality, the plot to overthrow free government, the claims of the masses of the South for protection, and all consideration of future security, are as nothing compared with the preservation of slavery—their only principle is *slavery conservatism*. The time has come for conservatism in the right direction. I think we have had enough of *slavery* conservatism. If we must still be conservatives, let us be conservatives of freedom; encouragers of humanity; promoters of such policy as makes men patriots, and keeps them so; and radical opposers of whatever tends to destroy republican government.

Every man in the country who still clings to the hope of a great nationality under the old ensign, desires the unity of our people. Upon what basis is this unity to be brought about? Slavery has pronounced democracy to be its opponent. Will unity be brought about by upholding slavery? It is aimed at the destruction of the national life. Will the national life be prolonged and secured by cherishing its antagonist? Slavery has conspired against the political rights of the non-slaveholding masses of the South. Is this in accordance with that just conservatism embraced in that clause of the Constitution which guarantees republican government to the people of all the States? It has unscrupulously aimed at the establishment of an order of nobility in the South, and endeavors to make its escape from under the Constitution which interdicts it. Will the further toleration of an institution which has attempted all this produce unity? Through the intrigues prompted by the pro-slavery spirit, the nation has been precipitated into civil war. The whole number of slaveholders has been more than equaled by the white men who have fallen in the conflict. What kind of a monument does slavery conservatism propose to erect to the memory of those thus sacrificed? Slavery will leave a war debt of gigantic magnitude for free industry to pay. In what way will conservatism reconcile the toil of the nation to the cause of its manifold calamities? Not, I apprehend, by pandering to slavery, and making it the basis of future intrigue and revolution.

The nation has had enough of *slavery* conservatism. It now demands not only a change, but a *radical* change. The future security of the nation depends upon the policy which shall be now adopted. Its strength results from civil liberty and free government—its only weakness has been the institution of slavery, which thwarted the development of those ideas. The great South, embracing more than 11,000,000 of human beings, all under proper guidance, an effective element of national strength, has one enemy only—that is *slavery conservatism*. The 20,000,000 of people in the North have had one insidious, mercenary, and atrocious enemy—*slavery conservatism!* The nation at large has had one enemy—*slavery conservatism!* The example in our country is only a repetition of what has been witnessed in all others. The process of freeing nations of the barbarisms of slavery has generally been slow, owing to the weakness of the anti-slavery forces. We have one advantage. The 20,000,000 of people devoted to free labor have it now in their power to make short work of American slavery. We shall soon know whether conservatism will make chronic the national disease, or whether a rapid and radical cure shall be effected. In the convalescence of this nation the open traitors may not prove to be its worst enemies.

The nation can no longer afford to indulge party tacticians in that line of intrigue which has heretofore proved its bane. The cause of nationality and free government is not alone in danger from domestic foes. The fall of Mexico, through weakness created by factions, should warn us. The usurper is already triumphing over the ruins of republican government in that unhappy country. No one can doubt the concurrent desires between that usurper and the anti-democratic spirit which to-day animates and controls the rebellion. At this moment negotiations are pending, if not consummated, between the leading rebels in Texas, who despair of success by the so-called Confederacy, and parties in Northern Mexico, for a union of Texas with the States of Tamaulipas, and Nuevo Leon and Coahuila for the formation of a new government under the imperial sanction and favor of Louis Napoleon. This will give the long-coveted opportunity to this despot to interfere in the affairs of this country with sufficient plausibility to relieve the act from the overwhelming censure of the French nation. If we are not now, we will at no distant day be standing upon the law of force and the preparation of the nation for warfare to save us from intervention. This is the only security we have. There are 800,000 colored men in the South, loyal by both nature and circumstance, the enemies of those who would overthrow the nationality, and capable of being made allies in the common cause of freedom, justice, and humanity. This force is not to be despised, for it is a force that can be counted on in any emergency that may call it into requisition. It has one simple platform in the ideal of its future—the desire to be free, and fidelity to the power that makes it free. It is this simple platform that may make the colored man an immense power on the side of nationality. It is worth more to the nation to-day, if properly treated, than all the slaveholders, coupled with all those who are now mouthing that abused word "conservatism." Conservatism for a long time repulsed the colored man, and made him the efficient ally of the rebels. Alarm for the cause of nationality changed the policy, and commenced making the colored man the ally of freedom.

I know that there are those who, while they desire the freedom of the slaves, are greatly troubled to determine what should be done with them afterward. And I have also observed that most frequently those who know least of the slaves of the South are most anxious in mind upon the subject. In three words the proper policy can be stated:

Let them alone.

There is no rightful power in the government to force them from its territory—besides, it will be found that the late masters in the South, and others, will clamor more loudly against their speedy deportation that they now do against their freedom.

They will need, and must have, their labor (not forced, put paid) until time and a change of population in the South shall furnish an adequate supply of white labor. When this period arrives, it is most probable—nay, it is certain—that the black race will begin to desire a home and a government exclusively their own. And then I shall be glad, if living, to see this government extend a strong and generous hand to assist them. If we will, to-day, take care of the rebellion and its cause, as against domestic and foreign foes the question of the future of the negro will take care of itself.

By your just proclamation you gave the highest earthly sanction to the wise and noble policy of the enfranchisement of the black man, and by his enrollment in your armies for the defence of the country, you have confirmed it to the benefit of the nation. You will be urged to revoke that act. God forbid that you should listen to such advisers and so rob yourself of the gratitude and admiration of mankind.

The utterance of these sentiments may by some be deemed out of place and unseasonable. I can better afford to bear the censure of such than to forego my convictions of truth and duty.

With sincere wishes for your health and welfare, I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. J. HAMILTON.

To the President of the United States.

THE LAWRENCE MASSACRE.

[The Leavenworth (Kansas) *Conservative* publishes the following account of the Lawrence massacre from one of its editors, just returned from the ruins:]

FLYING rumors had painted a terrible picture, but the reality exceeded the reports. We found Massachusetts street one mass of smouldering ruins and crumbling walls, the light from which cast a sickening glare upon the little knots of excited men and distracted women, gazing upon the ruins of their once happy homes and prosperous business. Only two business-houses were left upon this street—one known as the armory, and the other as the old Miller Block. About 125 houses, in all, were burned, and only one or two escaped, being ransacked, and everything of value carried away or destroyed. Six or eight soldiers, who camped upon this side of the river, and who fired across at every rebel who appeared upon the bank, deterred the cowards from destroying some of the houses near the ferry, and from cutting down the flag-pole. The force of the rebels is variously estimated from 250 to 400. Reliable parties place it at 300. Their every act during their stay in the city was characterized by the most cowardly barbarism. They entered the town on the gallop, firing into every house, and when the occupants appeared at the door they were shot down like dogs. Five bodies, burned to a crisp, lay near the ruins of the Eldridge House. They could not be recognized. Eighteen out of twenty-two unarmed recruits, encamped south of the town, were murdered in their tents. Their bodies lay in the colored church when we arrived. Messrs. Trask, Dr. Griswold, Baker and Thorp, were shot down in the yard of Dr. Griswold, before the eyes of their families. Judge Carpenter was wounded in his yard, and fell, when his wife and sister threw themselves upon his body, begging for mercy, but to no avail. The fiends dismounted, stuck their pistols between the persons of his protectors, and fired. Miss Stone, daughter of the proprietor of the City Hotel, had a diamond ring stolen from her finger. Quantrell obliged the man to restore it. In revenge for this the ruffians afterward came back and shot her father before the mother's eyes. They also tried to kill Miss Stone. Gen. Collamore went into his well to hide, and the bad air killed him. His son and Pat. Keefe lost their lives trying to get the father out. The life of District-Attorney Riggs was saved by the heroism of his wife, who seized the bridle of the rebel's horse, who attempted to shoot him as he ran.

Several cases of remarkable bravery of women were related to us. The wife of Sheriff Brown three successive times put out the fire kindled to burn the house. Her husband was hidden under the floor. The house was saved by her heroism.

The offices of *The Journal*, *Tribune* and *Republican*, were of course levelled to the ground. John Speer, Jr., of *The Tribune*, started for his home from the office after the rebels came in. Mr. Murdoch, a printer in the office, tried to induce him to accompany him into a well near by for safety, but he would do nothing but go home to defend the house, which he did, and was killed. Murdoch went into the well and was saved. A younger son of John Speer, Sen., killed a rebel and left. The guests at the Eldridge House were ordered out, their rooms pillaged, and some of the people shot. Two men from Ohio were wounded there, and are now in this city. Only the presence and peremptory orders of Quantrell prevented the massacre of all the occupants after they had been marched out on the street.

The rebels were told that there was a negro baby still in the house, but they said, "We will burn the G—d d—n little brat," and they did. We saw its charred remains, burned black as the heart of its murderers. The books of the County and District Clerks were burned, but those of the Register of Deeds were in the safe, and are supposed to have been saved. Every safe in the city but two was robbed. In the Eldridge store, James Eldridge and James Perrine gave the rebels all the money in the safe, and were instantly shot down. All the hotels were destroyed, except the City Hotel. The loss in cash is estimated at $250,000, and in property and all at $2,000,000. That is a low enough estimate.

The number of bodies, up to the time we left, was 113, of which about 20 were burned so badly as to render recognition impossible. There were a large number of strangers in town, and when the entire loss is ascertained we think it will reach 150 killed. Many were, doubtless, killed by the rebel pickets in the brush.

The people have not yet recovered from the terrible blow sufficiently to appreciate the full force of their desolation; and when they do recover from the shock, many more will doubtless be missing.

We have seen battle-fields and scenes of carnage and bloodshed, but have never witnessed a spectacle so horrible as that seen among the smouldering ruins at Lawrence. No fighting, no resistance—cold-blooded murder was there.

Persons just from Lawrence report that the number of dead will reach 170, perhaps 200, as bodies are constantly being found.

The excitement throughout the State is intense, and our citizens unanimously regard the Lawrence massacre as a legitimate fruit of the rule of the Schofield-Ewing policy in Missouri and Kansas.

THE PRO-SLAVERY RELIGION OF THE SOUTH.

To the Editors of "Good Words," "The Evangelical Magazine," and other religious periodicals which have admitted an advertisement from the Clergy of the Confederate States.

GENTLEMEN: As the subject to which I would respectfully direct your attention has been made as public as the wide circulation of your periodicals renders possible, allow me, through a public medium, to express a hope that it was without your knowledge that your publishers allowed the appeal of the slave-sanctioning clergy of America to be stitched up within the cover of magazines devoted to truth, philanthropy and religion. I do not complain of, though I differ from the arguments of that address in relation to the justice or policy of the war; for this is a subject on which Christians may excusably take opposite views. Nor shall I refer to the proclamation of Emancipation, for which I thank God, but which the authors of that address "calmly denounce as worthy of universal reprobation." But that to which I would draw your attention is the deliberate sanction to slavery as it exists in the Southern States contained in that advertisement. Whatever may be our opinions on the war, the Churches of Great Britain have long ago emphatically pronounced their condemnation of slavery as opposed to humanity, and utterly condemned by the Gospel. If this is the case as regards slavery in the abstract, how much more is it true in reference to the system which actually prevails in the Confederate States? Let it be remembered that throughout those States the word of a colored person is never taken in evidence as against a white, so that any wrong done to a negro in the presence of negroes alone cannot be proved, though a thousand colored witnesses were prepared to give evidence on oath. Let it be remembered that there are stringent laws against teaching slaves to read. Let it be remembered that whatever the kindness of treatment which slaves may occasionally receive, those slaves are part of the estate, and on the insolvency or death of the owner are liable to be sold together or separately as the horses and cattle. Let it be remembered that by law, throughout those States, a husband has no exclusive right to his wife—parents have no parental rights in their children—and a woman has no legal right to her chastity. Also, that any slave refusing obedience to any command may be flogged till he submits or dies. Not by occasional abuses alone, but by the universal law of the Southern Confederacy, the existing system of slavery violates all the moral laws of Christianity. Yet these clergy, in the advertisement to which you give publicity, not merely apologize for, but solemnly advocate the system. These are their words: "With all the fects of the system of slavery in its practical operations before us, ... we testify in the sight of God that the relation of master and slave among us, however we may deplore abuses in this as in other relations of mankind, is not incompatible with our holy Christianity, and that the presence of the Africans in our land is an occasion of gratitude on their behalf before God. . . . . The condition of slaves here is not wretched, as Northern fiction would have men believe, but prosperous and happy, and would have been yet more so but for the mistaken zeal of the Abolitionists. . . . . We regard Abolitionism as an interference with the plans of Divine Providence. It has not the signs of the Lord's blessing. It is a fanaticism which puts forth no good fruit," etc. In conclusion, they ask "the devout prayer of all God's people" and the voice of an enlightened Christian sentiment "against persecution for conscience sake." Amongst the signatures is that of B. M. Palmer, D.D., New Orleans. It is to be expected that a document prepared for freedom-loving England would be couched in more moderate terms in reference to slavery than the opinions of the authors when uttered before their own countrymen. Allow me, then, to quote from a sermon delivered by this Dr. Palmer on the 29th November, 1860, in the Presbyterian Church, New Orleans. In that discourse he thus distinctly declares the duty and object of the Confederacy to be the perpetuation and extension of slavery: "The particular trust assigned to such a people becomes the pledge of the Divine protection; and their fidelity to it determines the fate by which it is finally overtaken. . . . If, then, the South is such a people, what, at this juncture, is their providential trust? I answer, that it is to conserve and to perpetuate the institution of domestic slavery as now existing. . . . . For us, as now situated, the duty is plain of conserving and transmitting the system of slavery, with the fresh scope for its natural development and extension. Let us, my brethren, look our duty in the face. With this institution committed to our keeping, what reply shall we make to those who say that its days are numbered? My own conviction is, that we should at once lift ourselves, intelligently, to the highest moral ground, and proclaim to all the world that we hold this trust from God; and in its occupancy we are prepared to stand or fall as God may appoint. If the critical moment has arrived at which the great issue is joined, let us say that, in the sight of all perils, we will stand by our trust; and God be with the right! . . . These slaves form part of our households, even as our children; and that, too, through a relationship recognized and sanctioned in the Scriptures of God even as the other. . . . In this great struggle we defend the cause of God and religion. The abolition spirit is undeniably atheistic. . . . Our present trust is to preserve and transmit our existing system of domestic servitude, with the right, unchallenged by man, to go and root itself wherever Providence and nature may carry it. Not till the last man has fallen behind the last rampart shall it drop from our hands; and then only in surrender to the God who gave it. . . . . It cannot be disguised that, almost to a man, the people at the North are anti-slavery where they are not abolition. A whole generation has been educated to look upon the system with abhorrence as a national blot. They hope, and look, and pray for its extinction within a reasonable time, and cannot be satisfied unless things are seen drawing to that conclusion. We, on the contrary, as its constituted guardians, can demand nothing less than that it should be left open to expansion, subject to no limitations save those imposed by God and nature. . . . . The position of the South is at this moment sublime!" These opinions of Dr. Palmer are universally prevalent in the South, and must be regarded as representing those of all his brethren who have signed the address to which you give currency. St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians that he did not forbid them altogether to withdraw from the fornicators, or covetous, or an extortioner of this world, for otherwise it would be impossible to live in the world; but that they were not to keep company with any man who, called a brother, was a fornicator, or covetous, or an extortioner: "with such an one not to eat." The authors of this address call themselves brethren, for they appeal "in the name of our holy Christianity, as the servants of the Most High God, solemnly invoking the blessing of Almighty God, as ministers of our Lord Jesus Christ and members of His holy Church, with our hands upon the Bible." Knowing that the existing slavery of the Southern States involves, not as an accident, but as an inherent element, "fornication, covetousness and extortion," with almost all other vices and crimes, I for one could not admit to the Lord's table, nor receive into my house, far less aid with my prayers or by giving currency to their arguments, such men as these, who, maintaining such a system, still invoke the name of Jesus and plead the authority of the Bible. The Duke of Argyll recently said that however he might disapprove of Bishop Colenso's writings, yet that were the bishop to live a thousand years and publish a book every year, he would not do so much to undermine the authority of the Bible in the minds of men as claiming that authority on behalf of the existing slave system of America. I know how much latitude is allowed to advertisers, and that editors plead to be irresponsible for opinions thus expressed; still, as you would refuse in the form of advertisement an appeal on behalf of infidelity or licentiousness, so I cannot but hope that this appeal, which involves a defence of slavery, escaped your notice. At least it deserves your consideration how far the Christian public will continue to receive into their homes publications the holy influence of whose editorial pages is likely to be counteracted by the demoralizing tendency of advertising sheets. I cannot, therefore, but express my hope, as a friend of your excellent periodicals, that you did not sanction the introduction of a manifesto which must injure, where it does not offend, the moral sentiment of all your readers. Alas for our country! alas for our Christianity! if through the controversies arising out of this great American struggle we should be led to regard with less abhorrence a system which, from our childhood, we have been taught to regard as violating the common rights of humanity, and trampling on the plainest precepts of the Gospel.

I remain, gentlemen, with sincere respect,

Surrey Chapel, August 6. NEWMAN HALL.

SLAVE-HUNTING IN MISSOURI.

From The St. Louis Democrat.

IT is only necessary to examine the local columns of the city press to see in the daily accounts of difficulties growing out of attempts at kidnapping, what an impulse has latterly been given to the negro-catching business in this State. And these accounts, numerous as they are, inasmuch as these transactions are conducted as quietly as possible, furnish but a very inadequate idea of the flourishing condition of this business at the present time. Numerous cases are reported to us of negro stealing, where it is impossible to get the facts in a form proper for publication. A contraband disappears. He is known to have been suddenly gobbled up and carried off, but by whom or where, as he is only a negro, no one is very particular to inquire. Many of the parties thus "sequestered" are fugitive slaves, who really have no right to control their movements, or have anything to say as to what shall be done with them—some of them were born free, with only the black brand upon them, which furnishes their captors the *color* of right merely for their operation; but the most of them are the former chattels of rebel masters, holding title papers to themselves from our military authorities.

It has only been quite recently that much of an effort has been made to look after this species of property. The movement now is mainly owing to two causes. The first is the so-called Emancipation Ordinance adopted by our late State Convention, which has had a tendency to give slave property a lift in the market—strange as it may appear to talk about an Emancipation Ordinance having that effect. The operation of a law, however, depends upon its provisions rather than upon its name. The Ordinance in question, by providing that the master shall have his slave in all cases, free from all molestation until 1876—thus giving a guarantee for that time against all legal interference—and particularly free from the payment of all taxes, "State, County and Municipal," which is a big item now-a-days; and further, that if the negro is now thirty-three years of age, just in the prime of life and usefulness, he shall remain a slave, tax-free, for life, has caused a decided advance in the market value of slave property, and largely developed the disposition to speculate in it.

The second cause for the increase in kidnapping has been the encouragement given to it by our present military authorities—particularly in the Provost Marshal General's department, to which, perhaps, we should in justice confine the above remark, although the superior is always in a sense responsible for what is done by the subordinate. We need not now go into a detailed statement of cases to establish what we have just alleged. The cases we have already given in our columns are sufficient proof, although by no means all that exist, nor all of which we have knowledge. The principle adopted in the case of the rebel Sheeley, of Callaway County—a man who from all accounts had been active in giving aid and comfort to the enemy—wherein free papers issued to his slaves by the former Provost Marshal were revoked by the present incumbent, upon the ground that they had been given "*by mistake*," shows to what extent the influence of the office is *strained* to favor the negro-catchers. Here were men and women, who had been set free by the military authority of the United States, and held certificates of the government for their liberty, handed back into servitude upon the flimsiest of pretexts. They had risen to the dignity of men and women, living and moving with the consciousness of freedom, when the Provost Marshal General comes along, chalks the single word "*mistake*" upon their backs, and by the magic operation of this talismanic token, they at once sink down into the inferior rank of chattels.

The case of Mary Logan, the slave of Prince L. Hudgins, who was expelled from the State Convention for disloyalty, a body of which Col. Brodhead was a member, and in whose action in the case of Hudgins he probably participated, is still stronger. Here the woman had received her free papers from Provost Marshal Farrar, which were not revoked, and yet, according to the affidavit of young Hudgins, whose veracity we know of no reason to question, she was spirited away, sold, and is now in actual slavery—all with the knowledge and consent of Col. Brodhead.

When such things occur, is it any wonder that those human bloodhounds, the negro-catchers, should be found in full cry in pursuit of their game?

GOOD ADVICE.

From The Tribune.

THE Merchants' Executive Committee for the relief of the colored sufferers by the recent riots in our city, having nearly accomplished the work generously assumed by them, have issued a brief and pertinent address to the blacks of our city. In this address, they are urged to send their children steadily to school—to buy no more of Ben. Wood's lottery and policy tickets—and to keep clear of intoxicating drinks—all as right as right can be. And, though advice-giving is apt to be regarded as intrusive, we do not think it can be in this case. To give a hungry man a tract is not the acme of wise philanthropy; but give him a good dinner first, and you may *then* properly ask him to read your tract and hope that he will read it attentively.

But the Committee close thus:

"You are further advised to resume the occupation or calling you had previous to the late riot; confident as we are that the public authorities are both able and willing to protect you in the enjoyment of your right to labor."

"*Right* to labor," gentlemen; thank you for the term! Your tribute to the "public authorities" has been well deserved by the police. But the felicity of that advice to "resume the occupation or calling you had previous to the riot" is not so clear. Do you not know, gentlemen, that hundreds of these abused blacks have been *refused* said "occupation"—refused it by New York merchants—refused it not because their old employers did not want their future services—for they did—but *because certain white ruffians bullied said employers into refusing work to these old and faithful employees, by threatening to make further trouble if they were further employed?* What do you say of the merchants who succumbed to such bullying? Ought not your address to have taken cognizance of these facts?

"To the Colored People of New York.

"From the general distribution of money to all among you who suffered by the late wicked riot, we trust you are convinced that you have a very great number of friends among the white people, who feel deeply your wrongs, sufferings and persecution. We know that to many of you these wrongs can never be made up. We cannot restore the dead to life, nor those who have lost their senses from terror. But we can assure you of our wish to do all we can for you. And while so doing we think you will listen to a few words of advice from us, as we do believe that in so doing you will receive great benefit, and be better prepared than ever before to make yourselves useful to one another, and more highly respected by all classes of your fellow-citizens.

"There are two matters in which colored people have hurt themselves very much, and to these we want to call your attention; and to urge you to determine to change your habits and to try to do better.

"1st. Although there are many good school-houses, well furnished with teachers, books, and all things necessary, yet we are sorry to know that many seats are every day empty, and too many of them who do go, let little things keep them away from school, so that they do not get ahead as fast as they might do. Let us assure you that nothing will so raise up the colored people as a good education. A well educated man or woman is twice as able to help himself and defend his rights as an ignorant one. Therefore send your children to school, and keep them steadily there.

"2d. Among the things which have done more harm to the colored people than anything else and which keep them poor, there is nothing that does so much as buying policies. Hundreds suffer from want of daily bread because they have spent the last cent to get a policy. Now let us tell you that you are robbed of your money when you buy a policy. It is all a system of cheating. You cannot possibly make money by it. Let us, then, as your true friends, beg of you never to go near a policy shop any more than if there were a mad dog in it.

"Lastly, Keep clear of drink. Rum makes a fool or a crazy man of those who drink much, and will bring them to ruin and misery. Do as we beg of you—listen to this advice. Fear God and keep his commandments; and you will speedily recover from your injuries and be better off than you have ever been.

"You are further advised to resume the occupation or calling you had previous to the late riot; confident as we are that the public authorities are both able and willing to protect you in the enjoyment of your right to labor.

"J. D. MCKENZIE, Chairman.

"EDWARD CROMWELL, GEO. C. COLLINS,
"J. G. SCHULTZ, A. R. WETMORE,
"JONATHAN STURGES, Treas., J. B. COLLINS,
"Executive Committee of Merchants appointed for the Relief of the Colored People."

THE WHITE SLAVES OF THE SOUTH.

[William H. De Camp of the Michigan Engineers' and Mechanics' Regiment now with Gen. Rosecrans, at Elk River Bridge, Tenn., writes on the 6th inst., to *The Grand Rapids Eagle* as follows of the beauties of slavery:]

It has been decided to have a regiment of negro troops attached to this regiment for doing the more common kinds of railroad and other work.

The negro enlistment has been commenced, and day before yesterday 500 were regularly mustered into the United States service, and I have examined and passed nearly 100 more that are physically capacitated to become soldiers, and get on our blue coats in place of their miserable, filthy rags.

These men you might think were genuine blacks, but I could not see it when I had them naked. When one sees standing before him a man of mature years, who possesses not the slightest trace of negro blood in a single feature or complexion, and hair straighter than you can generally find in the pure Anglo-Saxon race, and he tells you that his father is Col. Higgins, now of the rebel army; that he sold him to Mr. Mason, near Decatur, Alabama, when fourteen years old, I think it enough to demonstrate what was the ruling passion in the South that made them "desire to be let depart from us in peace." Such men, I think, are those desirous of being the makers of their own fortunes, and then can be mean enough to make a war to maintain the possession of the same.

This is not an isolated case. Two others, this same day, presented themselves for examination, and the most critical examination by all present could not detect the slightest trace of negro blood; and yet one had been a slave 36 years, and the other 42 years, and that, too, in the land of American freedom (down in Southern chivalry).

Up in that land of Morganites, as well as in Alabama, have I seen, not men, but women, whom no one would ever suspect of having a vestige of African blood in their veins, that were the slaves of these same people, who are foremost to defend their rights as well as property, after they have made it.

We have all heard enough about the "nigger," but of over 600 specimens of them that I have just examined in a perfect state of nudity, I cannot help but make some comment on what I have seen.

I found the backs of about one in five showed the marks of him that ruleth; and in one case he had left over 1,000 *rule* marks, of from six to eight inches in length, while scores showed numerous gashes that you could not cover the scars of with one, and often two fingers. I don't see how any person can be expected to keep still and say he believes in letting every people, of every State, have their own way of governing their own domestic affairs, when he has just ceased looking at these *marked* effects of it. I think some of our domestic affairs at home would not show as clear a record as theirs do, if we were to undertake to do as we choose in governing our domestic affairs, even though we did make our own domestics. I should expect to hear of more than a few family (quarrels) domestications. It is said to be no hard task to do a thing when you get used to it; but if you will allow me to express my private opinion, I would prefer beginning where they left off.

These are no imaginary pictures of what we find down here in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi, and I doubt not in every other State having the same laws. I never was an Abolitionist, but I am not in favor of white slaves in a white country, and that where we call our nation a white one.

THE CONSERVATIVE POLICY IN WESTERN MISSOURI.

From The St. Louis Democrat.

GEN. BEN. LOAN, whose head fell under the Gamble guillotine, has been severely denounced by the Conservative-Copperhead press of this city, and all over the State, for the course he pursued towards rebels in Western Missouri. The difficulty was, that Loan's policy was one calculated to be felt. It taught that no man could be a rebel with impunity. The effect was not so pleasant for rebels, doubtless, but to Union men it rendered the highest satisfaction. Something like peace began to be restored in the district where Loan's administration prevailed. Bushwhacking was of rare occurrence, and Union men began to breathe with a sense of security.

But the means by which this result was attained touched the tender hearts of our Missouri Conservatives. Their "brethren," the rebels, who, after all, had only temporarily gone astray, and were faithfully seeking their way back into the Union fold, were being handled entirely too roughly to suit the delicate nerves of the Gambleites, and the upshot of the matter was, that Loan was removed—as was said—because of the unnecessary severity of some of his orders.

Well, we now see the fruits of this policy. Gen. Ewing was put in command of a large portion of the district formerly under Loan. His advent was heralded with many trumpets by the Conservative press. Taking advantage of some remarks made by the General upon his appointment to the command by giving them an interpretation which we are satisfied they were never intended by their author to bear, they proclaimed that the reign of brute force in Western Missouri was virtually ended. An administration of reason was about to be inaugurated. The rebell

ity can be made. But the crime of the eight hundred assassins whom Quantrell led to the slaughter does not, alas! exhaust the solemn question of responsibility. Whose mismanagement was it which, in a district where every rebel army is subdued, and which is filled with loyal troops, permitted eight hundred men to gather, arm, march scores of miles through a State where only loyal men are supposed to live, attack, capture, rob and burn a Union city, murder its inhabitants and escape, is the inquiry which will force itself upon every reflecting mind. That inquiry—and no one regrets more than ourselves to have it to say—should not stop with the massacre at Lawrence.

That affair it will be impossible for reflecting, well-informed men to look upon otherwise than as a mere incident—a result of causes which have long been in operation—an illustration merely of a system of misrule, to which this Department has been subjected for months past, breeding dangers which have been gathering and festering beneath the surface, until they have at last broken out in the bloody calamity which has startled the whole country. The Lawrence tragedy is the legitimate fruit of the policy which has been inaugurated in the Department of the Missouri, at the instigation of men more criminal than the department commander, if less responsible, and should surprise no one. The same character of event has been long liable to happen at other points, and may yet be repeated, for there is no one at all familiar with the present condition of things in this State but who will admit that Missouri is charged and surcharged with danger. Naturally enough, those near the scene of the disaster incline to cast the culpability upon the District and Department Commanders, but back of the question of their guilt or innocence comes up the inquiry of who is responsible for their appointment? Who caused the removal of the former Department Commander, whose administration had been a marked success, and whom the President in the very act of removal endorsed as "honest, competent and patriotic," and as having done "no wrong, either of omission or commission"? Who imposed upon the department an officer whose first administration of affairs in this department was a failure, and who was appointed and continued in his present position against the earnest protests of the best and soundest Union men in Missouri and Kansas, and in spite of their repeated remonstrances, appeals, and in some cases their predictions of the very results which have followed? The question of responsibility goes deep, but it should be probed to the bottom.

IMPORTANT FROM THE SOUTH.

JEFF. DAVIS SAID TO HAVE CALLED FOR 500,000 BLACK TROOPS.

FORTRESS MONROE, Saturday, Aug. 29.

THE steamer C. W. Thomas has arrived from Newbern. . . . . Rebel papers received at Morehead City say that Jeff. Davis *has decided, after a conference with the Governors of the Confederate States, to call out* 500,000 *black troops, who are to receive their freedom and fifty acres of land at the end of the war.*

Correspondence of The Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30, 1863.

Although your paper has recently alluded to the arming of the slaves in the South, I do not remember to have seen anywhere an account of the manner in which this question happened to be introduced into the politics of the South, nor any mention of the importance it cannot fail to assume in the eyes of European cabinets. I will therefore add to the information you have already given to the public by communicating to you the contents of a letter written in Richmond a week ago on that subject. This letter came from a source which I have the best reason to believe well informed on these matters, and is entitled, in my humble opinion, to the confidence of the people.

Converting blacks into soldiers for the defence of the national territory is not a new idea with the Confederate government. As early as 1861, when the Union forces under McClellan were scattered along the extensive line of the Chickahominy swamps, many of the most prominent and wealthiest planters, frightened by the danger of the fall of Richmond, which they then considered as an inevitable event, proposed to arm and to lead their slaves, and to bring them to the rescue of the threatened capital. But public opinion having not yet been prepared by repeated reverses and losses in men to overcome one of its strongest prejudices, nor to contemplate without a shudder of contempt the possibility of seeing one day a free man fight side by side with a slave, the proposition was looked upon as dangerous and visionary, and was so treated by the great majority of the people. Still it was rumored at the time that the members of the Cabinet would have willingly accepted the proffered aid had it not been for the sake of their popularity. Jeff. Davis, who, since the beginning of this war, had been pressed by European Cabinets to adopt some reformatory measure in reference to slavery, said, on that occasion, that it would be desirable to see the tide of public prejudice recede from its course, and black regiments formed for the defence of cities and strongholds. It was obvious, then, that the Cabinet was already contemplating the feasibility of arming the slaves, and that they were deterred from doing so only by the fear of hurting too violently existing prejudices, and thus weakening their own power.

The series of victories won by Gen. Lee inflated the pride and vanity of the Southerners to such an extent that, for a moment, they believed themselves to be indebted for their success to the holiness of the institution of slavery as well as to the superior valor of their men. The victory of Gettysburg and the conquest of the borders of the Mississippi by the Union armies caused this stupendous edifice of pride and error to crumble down, and demonstrated to them the emptiness and folly of their iniquitous theory. They then turned their eyes toward their four million of blacks, and asked themselves how it was that the government had not yet availed itself of the resources offered by this large recruiting field, and why an army of blacks was not raised forthwith. I may say, however, that those who wished at first to use the blacks as soldiers did not think that their services in that capacity were entitled to a reward; they would have held them in slavery all the while. It was, I understand, the sentiment of the army which modified the views of the planters in that respect. The army refused to fight unless the slaves be made free before entering the ranks, and received equal advantages with those enjoyed by the whites.

Before this question was ripe enough to be brought before the rebel government, Beauregard, supported in this by the opinion of the Governor of South Carolina, had been asking for authority to arm a few negro regiments for the defence of Charleston, and Gov. Shorter of Alabama, pressed by the necessity of providing for the defence of Mobile, had addressed the same request to Richmond, and recommended in a public proclamation the arming of negroes in his own State.

These unexpected demands coincided too well with the secret sentiments of the Cabinet not to be used by it as the ground of a new policy. Thus, while Beauregard's claim might be considered as justifying the arming of negroes under the plea of military necessity, the proclamation of Gov. Shorter of Alabama, and the endorsement of the Governor of South Carolina, more important still, unreservedly placed at the disposal of the government a force of several thousand men, and paved the way for a powerful military organization all over the extent of the Confederacy. Jeff. Davis was too shrewd not to avail himself of these fortunate circumstances.

By his order, every Governor in the rebel States was consulted concerning the propriety of arming slaves for the war, and was invited to Richmond to confer with the President on that subject. This invitation was, it seems, immediately complied with, and after fifteen days of close conference between the governors of the States and the members of the Cabinet, it was decided that the salvation of the country required the arming of the slaves, and that a call of 400,000 blacks, one from every eight inhabitants, should take place forthwith.

Outside of military and social considerations, the importance of which cannot be fully estimated now, one of the motives which urged the adoption of this measure is, I understand, the effect it is likely to have upon European Powers. While the discussion on the measure was going on, a member of the Cabinet removed all the objections raised by stating that the enlistment of the blacks in the Confederate ranks, and the gift of their freedom and a portion of land as their reward for their services, would cause the great majority of the European people adverse to slavery to become friends of the South, and force their governments to interest themselves in its behalf. It would at the same time show that the black, who had been represented as the enemy of his master, was in reality his friend; and the greatest mark of this friendship was to be found in the confidence the white man has in the obedience and fidelity of the black, who, by this call, was suddenly elevated to a position of trust and confidence unparalleled in the history of the world. All these considerations could not fail, it was said, to engage the attention of the European public and to place the Southern Confederacy upon higher political and moral ground. It was these remarks, I am told, which destroyed all opposition, and led to the unanimous adoption of the measure.

The proceedings I have just related have been kept secret, and will not be divulged until Jeff. Davis's proclamation submitting the whole matter to the people is issued.

REMARKS BY THE TRIBUNE.

It has long been our firm conviction that Mr. Jeff. Davis and his confederates were destined to live in history as the greatest practical Abolitionists that the world has ever known. We do not undervalue the services of Messrs. Wendell Phillips, Lloyd Garrison and others, to the cause of Emancipation; they have been faithful to their light, and have done a good work, though we cannot humor their disposition to claim as their thunder everything that has been done for the slave during the last quarter of a century. Mr. Gerrit Smith, too, has done his part manfully; so have Giddings, Lovejoy, Jay, Sumner, and others, done theirs. But the Calhoun Nullifiers, whereof Yancey, Floyd, Barksdale, etc., have recently gone to their account, and of whom Jeff. Davis, Wise, Rhett, Ruffin, De Bow, etc., are the living heads, were the boys to pull down on their own reckless heads the idol-temple which they seemed so intent on elevating and strengthening. And if—as now seems probable—they have just resolved on arming the slaves in Dixie for a last desperate effort in behalf of Disunion, they have brought the end visibly, palpably near. The statements of a correspondent in Washington, which we publish in another column, are positive on this point, and as we know his sources of information are usually trustworthy we see no reason to doubt them in this instance.

That the Confederates armed negroes at the outset of their rebellion, we have already shown. They did so in Mobile, even before the battle of Bull Run. They did so in Louisiana, before one negro had been allowed to put on the uniform of the United States, and black regiments had an honorable position in their grand parade in the Autumn of '61. They did so in Tennessee, even before they had openly seceded from the Union. Theodore Winthrop at Great Bethel was shot by a slave, armed for the fray by the master, and maddened by the rebel falsehood that the Yankees were coming to steal all the slaves and sell them in Cuba. In fact, the rebels intended and fully expected from the outset to make all possible use of slaves; it was only our use of them that they objected to. And their savage acts and orders directing that blacks captured while in arms for the Union should be enslaved or put to death, were all based on the assumption that those negroes were *their slaves*, who had "revolted" and were in "insurrection" against their lawful rulers and masters. And that, it seems, is a crime which these gentry regard with peculiar horror.

But the Confederates, it seems, have decided to make the plunge. After breaking up the Democratic party as not sufficiently pro-slavery, and then essaying desperately to break up the Union on the same pretext, they have at last turned a short corner and resolved to arm and free all their able bodied slaves! Hitherto, their arming has been fitful, local, sporadic; henceforth, they arm systematically, universally. And whereas they have always hitherto boasted of the devotion of the negroes to their masters and their horror of Yankees and Abolitionists, they now betray their perfect consciousness of the utter falsity of these pretences, by declaring that every slave they arm shall have his freedom.

It will be idle to seek to conceal, even from the most stolid, that this is in effect an edict of Universal Emancipation. One Hundred Thousand men—much less Two, Three, Five Hundred Thousand—will never lay down their arms leaving their wives and children in bondage. "It is the first step that costs," and that decides all that follow. A government that recruits and maintains a negro army from among the slaves subject to its sway must be practically anti-slavery, no matter what might be its choice. The rebellion, calling the slaves in arms to its aid, is compelled to sacrifice slavery. "Paint an inch thick, to this complexion must he come at last."

We have never yet declared slavery dead in this country. We have more commonly apprehended that it would yet afflict and distract us for a quarter of a century. But if the rebel chiefs have resolved to arm their slaves, the end must be very near.

But can any negro army be raised that will afford any substantial aid to the rebellion?

We think not. It is too late. There is not a negro in America so stupid as not to know that the rebellion was concocted and has been maintained in the interest of slavery. It had no object, no meaning, apart from this. It denounced our President's two proclamations of Freedom as hideous, execrable, fiendish. It called upon the world to regard them with amazed abhorrence. The world regarded, but didn't abhor. In fact, while the rebels have had strong friends, astute champions, unscrupulous advocates throughout the civilized world, they have all been exceeding chary of responding to its demonstrations in behalf of slavery. Bondage was the strength of the Confederacy in Dixie and among our Northern Copperheads, but its weakness everywhere else.

This eleventh-hour dodge will only hasten the catastrophe it is designed to prevent. The slaveholders will no more be coerced into subserviency to treason by the mad-dog cry of Abolition. The Poor Whites, who have been fighting against "negro equality," will see that their castle is tumbling about their ears. Everybody has now a good excuse for turning his back on the discomfited, bankrupt, hopeless rebellion. In a few weeks its power will have departed, and its memory be left to rot. Amen!

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1863.

THE MYSTERY OF UNGODLINESS.

IF the Mystery of Godliness is great, greater yet is the Mystery of Ungodliness. That is to say, in certain of its phases. Some kinds of wickedness are perfectly explicable by the laws of human nature. All such as find their satisfactions in sensual delights, or in the gratification of ambition, pride or vanity, can be understood, because they spring from certain well-known passions of the human heart. Something, at least, appears to be gained from their commission. The pleasure found in the exercise of tyranny, oppression and cruelty by the guilty party can be comprehended, because we know how strong is the love of power in the natural man. The satisfaction to be derived from the accumulation of wealth and in its expenditure is intelligible by all of us, because the love of property is implanted in all our natures. In all these cases and their like there is a *quid pro quo*—something acquired or something enjoyed, as a set-off for the penalties attached to the violation of divine laws. But the disinterested love of a wickedness like slavery, sympathy with its perpetrators from spontaneous impulse, hatred of the victims of the villany, on purely abstract principles, a desire to see them bound down in their torments with adamantine chains, and thrust back into them should they have escaped from them, and this though they have done their ill-wishers no harm, nor their tormentors done them any good, all this is indeed a Mystery of Ungodliness hard to be explained. And yet how often do we meet with it, not ashamed of itself and hiding its head, but uplifting it and boasting itself of its disgrace as if it were its glory! And this not only in the back slums of cities, in the haunts of vice, crime, poverty and ignorance, but in the high places of society, as they claim to be, among the educated, the externally refined and elegant, and especially among those who stand apart from the rest of the world as holier than they, and who profess to be, in a peculiar manner, the accepted and favorite servants of the common Father of Mankind and the chosen disciples of Jesus Christ.

English Snobbishness is an elevated and exemplary virtue compared with this vice. There is something in the distinctions of society there which one can conceive of taking hold of the imagination. Hereditary honors of that description have, in many cases, an historical interest, and in all are associated with chivalrous ideas of deference to merit, his father's or his own, which has been recognized as deserving of permanent marks of distinction by the sovereign of the State. It is not necessarily meanness that feels a reverence for rank, and that takes a pleasure in yielding to it all it can claim. The English aristocracy is at least supposed to be founded on public services, and as it is so contrived as to be continually issuing from the commonalty and returning to it, its honors are not placed so hopelessly above the reach of every subject that it is politically impossible that he, or some of his descendants, should attain the honors of the peerage. There is no such explanation of the volunteered subserviency, the eager baseness, which inspires the pro-slavery Snob of the Northern States. He loves and reveres the filthiest and most cruel of tyrannies for its own sake, and from his mean hatred of the objects of the same. There is nothing in the buying and selling of men and women that is more exalting to the character than the trading in beeves or swine, nor does the overworking and whipping to death a human being elevate human nature more than that of an ox or a horse. And yet men and women who would turn up their noses at one engaged in a petty trade, or would be shocked at a case of cruelty to a beast, feel honored by the acquaintance of one trafficking in their fellow-creatures or inflicting "moderate correction" (dying under which is no murder) upon them, mourn over their losses, and maintain their right to be rehabilitated in all their privileges of the auction-block, the scourge and the branding-iron.

This fanaticism of meanness, this snobbishness run mad, is partly to be explained by the political influence which was given to slavery by the Constitution, and partly to the insolence and power of self-assertion which are the natural fruits of absolute power over human beings. The first is sufficient to account for the prostration of the old Whig and Democratic parties, as such, at the feet of the men whose breath turned the trembling scale of dubious elections. And it accounts for the industrious malignity of the Copperheads in their endeavors to help the rebels all they can without hurting themselves. By the Union as it was they mean that Union with the slaveholders which consisted in helping these last to govern the country, while they were rewarded with the Collectorships and Post-offices of the Northern States. By the Constitution as it is they mean a fundamental law, unchangeable and unrepealable, by which slavery is to be forever maintained as the regulating element of the politics that gives them power and pelf. The villanies of these men are explicable enough by this solution of selfishness. But there is a large class of persons who have no particular political aspirations, and are entirely free from any necessity or wish for provision under government, who are as loyal to slavery, as eager for the preservation of the rights of slaveholders, as the most hungry office-seeker of them all. The passionate obsequiousness of this description of men and women must arise from the natural constitution of their minds. There are persons who must have objects to look up to as something higher than themselves—who must have idols, even if they have to make them up with their own hands or their own imaginations. Having no superiors in rank recognized as such by law, they are driven to invent them, or to accept such as see fit to assume the character impudently and to maintain it noisily. These persons are the ready and willing tools of the more intelligent and self-seeking politicians. They are supplied by them with false assertions and sophistical arguments to use within their sphere of influence. They are not so detestable as their wire-pullers; but, though more despicable, not much less mischievous. They have not the skill to contrive the firebrands, arrows and death of their abler coadjutors, but they are no less diligent in scattering them abroad.

These are times that try men's souls quite as much as those of the Revolution of '76. And it depends upon how men's souls come out of the furnace whether we are to be a great, united and free people, or not. The intelligent miscreants whose heart's desire it is to deliver up the North, bound hand and foot, with its own consent, to its old masters, assisted by the weak and paltry drivellers who think it a fine thing to help them do it, are now fairly arrayed against the men who desire to see genuine liberty universally established, under equal laws, justly administered, which shall secure the safety and rights of every honest man and good citizen everywhere. This state of things, we know by the experience of seventy years, cannot coexist with slavery. Whether slavery be a good and pleasant estate for the slaves or not, it has grown to be one entirely intolerable for the white man and utterly inconsistent with his rights. Just in the proportion and degree that slavery is suffered to exist after the war, will be the proportion and degree of Civil Liberty possible in the land. The two opposite principles of light and darkness, of Freedom and Slavery, have now joined battle, in the free States, as a part, and the most important part, of the rebellion. That the rebellion of the slaveholders, South, will be in due time suppressed, is now as certain as any future event can be. The earnest attention of every lover of his country and of Civil Liberty must now be bent upon defeating the treasonable plots of the allies of the rebels within our own borders to turn their discomfiture into a substantial victory, making the last end of the Republic worse than the first. We think that the public mind is growing more and more intelligent as to the one thing needful to be done, and that the full carrying out of the proclamation of Emancipation will not only be sustained by the Nation, but insisted upon. But this is not to be taken for granted, and our efforts relaxed as no longer necessary. Slavery has received a death-blow by this word, undoubtedly, but it is yet to be seen how long it can linger and how much more mischief it can do before it finally dies. It is a monster of great tenacity of life, with many heads, some of them rearing themselves in the high places of the North. The critical part of the fight with it will come after it has been disabled on its own ground and demands not merely life, but dominion over us, as a vital duty on our part, on our own ground. Should this demand be complied with—and we wish we could say that it is impossible to be done—the Mystery of Ungodliness will be more profound than ever and more puzzling to posterity to explain than it has ever yet been. And no wonder, for never before did a nation expend hundreds of thousands of lives and thousands of millions of dollars to compel its abdicated tyrants to rule over it against their will!

PHILADELPHIA MATTERS.

MR. ROBERT PURVIS, of Byberry, has accepted an invitation from Major Geo. L. Stearns to be one of the party which goes with him to aid in the work of organizing black troops. Mr. Purvis, we presume, is now *en route* to Chattanooga. Major Stearns is fortunate in having so competent a coadjutor. A similar invitation, we learn, had been extended to Mr. J. M McKim, but duties of a like character at home and other causes obliged that gentleman to decline.

Advices from Philadelphia speak of the increasing popularity of the negro-enlistment movement, and of the steady progress of that enterprise in Pennsylvania.

The Second regiment at *Camp William Penn* (being the "6th Regiment U. S. Colored Troops") is steadily filling up, and an uncommonly fine-looking and well-behaving body of men it is said to be.

A flag-presentation took place at the camp last Monday, which attracted a large crowd of spectators. The flag was a gift from ladies of color of Philadelphia, and was painted by Mr. David Bowser of that city, a colored man of fine skill in that line of art. It was presented to the regiment through Col. Wagner, the officer commanding, by Robert Purvis, who made it the occasion of a brief but eloquent speech. Col. Wagner replied happily in a strain that showed him to have been much touched by Mr. Purvis's remarks.

Speeches were also made by Mr. John Bowers and Col. Maurice.

Nothing has been heard from the First Regiment—Colonel Tilghman—since its departure, except the fact of its safe arrival at Morris Island, the present seat of war in South Carolina.

WHY SEYMOUR DOES NOT RESIST THE DRAFT.—Abbe McMasters, a Democratic politician of this city, and in possession, no doubt, of the secrets of the leaders of the party, lately made a speech at Dubuque, Iowa, in which he said, as reported in *The Daily Times* of that city:

"He had been frequently asked, since he came here, why Seymour had not opposed the draft? He would say that *the Govenor had done all it was prudent to do.* In a short time there would be a convention held, which would adopt resolutions opposed to the war and against forcing people to fight. If a man wanted to fight let him join the army, but no man should be forced to enter the service of the despots in power. Gentlemen, Gov. Seymour will act up to these resolutions.

"'It is not safe,' said the speaker, 'to oppose the draft now. New York is full of Federal bayonets. We had a riot, but the tax-payers, *many of whom are Democrats, will have to pay for the destruction of property, and it will come hard on them.* As a question of brute force it is not policy to make war on the government now. *We tried it once, and it did not pay.*'"

This frank confession that the mob which lately ravaged this city, burning buildings, plundering houses and stores and robbing and murdering defenceless citizens, was instigated by the Democratic party, certainly has the merit of frankness. "*We* tried it once," says Mr. McMasters, "and it did not pay." The Democrats of Iowa must be unreasonable indeed if they were not satisfied with this apology for Gov. Seymour.

THE COLORED PEOPLE OF KANSAS are to hold a delegated Convention at Leavenworth, on the 13th, 14th and 15th of October next, for the purpose of taking into consideration their political, educational, moral and social disabilities, and adopting measures to secure for themselves all the rights enjoyed by white citizens. The movement is creditable to their intelligence, and every true friend of liberty must wish them success. We should not wonder if Kansas were found taking the lead of other States in expunging from her Constitution and laws all distinctions of color or race.

A CHAPTER FROM THE CHRONICLES OF SALEM, N. J.

1. And it came to pass in the year of Christ, 1863, in the second month, the fifth day of the month, that sweet singers of the tribe of Asa, known also as Hutchinson, came into the city of Salem, to make glad the hearts of the inhabitants thereof with their very pleasant songs.

2. And a large and great number of people assembled in the hall which is called Rumsey's, on the street commonly named Fenwick, and there gathered together to delight themselves in the voice of melody.

3. And the said tribe of Asa, father, mother, daughter, and two little sons, appeared before the people of the city of Salem, and poured forth music so sweet as charmed the hearers thereof: and Asa, the father, likewise made melody on a pleasant instrument which mingled with his voice and theirs.

4. And Rosetta, daughter of Frederick the orator, likewise came to hear the Hutchinsons, and a few others with her. Now Rosetta and her companions had skins darker than the rest of the people who had assembled together: save this there was no cause of offence found in them.

5. But when the eyes of the people of Salem rested on Rosetta and her companions, they were filled with rage, and they said, Shall we suffer these dark-skinned people to come and sit down here in this building with us, who are white altogether? (Howbeit they continued to listen to the minstrels: for their voices made melody so musical, as is rarely heard in this city.)

6. But the next day some of them said one to another, Behold, now this tribe of Asa did surely know that these dark skinned people were coming into the midst of us this evening: and yet they did not interfere, neither prevent this great wrong and scandal: and who are they, that thus they should do dishonor unto the city of Salem?

7. Let it be, therefore, that when the tribe of Asa come back this way, we pelt them with rotten eggs, and in divers other ways insult them; that so they may sorely repent the evil which they and these dark-skinned people have committed against the peace and dignity of the people of Salem.

8. (For the tribe of Asa had purposed and promised to return from Bridgeton, whither they were going, by the way of Salem, and give the inhabitants thereof some more of their pleasant songs.)

9. And it was so, that the ire of the people of Salem was so mightily kindled, and waxed so hot, that it was not safe for Asa the sweet singer, nor his wife, nor their little ones, to show themselves again in Salem, though its name be by interpretation, *city of Peace.*

10. So letters were sent after them, saying, Ye had better not come any more into our borders: for our people mutter curses against you, and vow vengeance upon you, inasmuch as ye connived at this scandalous thing, whereas ye ought to have known better.

11. So the tribe of Asa, the sweet singer, came no more to Salem, but returned to their own country another way.

12. And all the rest of the acts of the city of Salem, how they turn out of office them that are worthy to bear rule, and put in high places those that love strong drink, and slavery, and that give bribes—are they not written in the history of this city for two years past?

13. Nevertheless there be, even in Salem, a remnant who are grieved because of these things, and whose souls mourn in secret over the lack of righteousness in their fair city.

Salem, N. J., Feb. 10, 1863. AUTOS.

MRS. GAGE TO THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

AT a Sunday meeting on the 7th of June, following the Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends at Longwood meeting-house, Chester Co., Pa., Oliver Johnson proposed to the friends that they should sustain a teacher for the freedmen on Paris Island, S. C. The proposition was received, and, I think, put before the audience in the form of a resolution and adopted. It was then proposed that a contribution should be taken at the time, which was done, and one hundred and twenty dollars collected and handed to Isaac Mendenhall, who paid the same over to me, for the use of Mary E. Gage, who had then been teaching three months on the Island.

At the same meeting, Amos Gilbert presented a silver watch to me for Mary E. Gage. The watch was afterwards purchased by friends and returned to Mr. Gilbert, and nine dollars paid me as the value of the same, by Theodore D. Weld, to be added to the one hundred and twenty already spoken of.

On my return to New York, I expended the money thus given over into my hands in the purchase of flour, molasses, sugar, soap and starch for the people's use. The goods were shipped at once to Paris Island, but on the way two barrels of flour were lost. (This loss we shall sustain.) All the other articles were received in good condition, and have been sold at a small profit, and Mary E. Gage has received the $129 00 in cash toward her yearly salary. The surplus or profit forms a little fund for charities, allowing us to give a bit of soap to the widow, a little flour to the poor, or a pint of molasses or a pound of sugar to the old or crippled. Thus the money has been made to do a double duty.

Most of the schools of the Port Royal mission were closed on the 1st of July, and the lady teachers, with few exceptions, went North to recruit. The weather was intensely warm—musquitoes, sand-flies and fleas unbearable in the country places. It seemed a cruelty, as well as waste of time, to call our children together under such circumstances. Many of the children were sick, and their long walks—most of them over a mile and a half, some two miles—brought on fevers and other complaints.

The school was accordingly dismissed, and the teacher, earnestly solicited to do so, went at once to Morris Island, to devote her time and energy among the sick and wounded soldiers, where she remained in active duty for four weeks.

On her return to Paris Island a new work opened before her. Sickness was prevailing—a virulent species of chicken pox, by some called small pox, intermittent fevers, diarrhœa, etc.—no physician upon the Island, and only three white people, to watch, counsel or attend to the accumulating demands. I could not leave my place, where I was called for every hour in the day to answer to demands, and she became at once the doctor. With a book upon the Family Practice of Homœopathy, and a well-filled box of pills; she began her rounds, doing as well as she could, depending more upon the enforcement of sanitary measures, such as bathing, diet, cleansing, purifying, etc., than upon infinitesimal doses; though we are glad to perceive that our medicines seem in most cases to have the desired effect. Sickness, if not abating, is ameliorated. Thus have six weeks been spent, in duties more of constant, wearisome and disagreeable by far than those of school teaching, and, as we believe, far more useful to the people. To ride to the five plantations of the island requires a journey of eighteen miles, which is sometimes done in one day, stopping at many houses, leaving medicines and giving instructions. As has been stated, three white people now constitute the whole force on the island. Nothing is more needed than some person to fill exactly the place now being filled by my daughter. Our experience as nurses and physicians has revealed to us the necessity of some one to visit the houses of these people once or twice a week, to look into their habits, watch their ways, and teach them by precept and example to keep themselves neat and cleanly, to patch and mend, to economise, and make the most of time, pointing out abuses and demanding correction in the spirit of love and kindness.

This work Mary E. Gage is willing to do, and asks of the friends who have so kindly pledged themselves to sustain her if they are willing she should transfer her teaching from the children to the parents—from the school-room to the homes. Will the friends who gather at Longwood and elsewhere give response through THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD if there be any objection to this arrangement. If none is made, then we shall decide that silence gives consent, and proceed accordingly.

In the meantime, let no one suppose me idle or recreant to duty. No two women can do all that needs to be done; and with all efforts that we can make, more, much more, still remains to do.

Friends will remember, too, that we have not the influence of example upon this island as elsewhere, no white females being near, and the people, for the most part, are unused to the manners and customs of white people; hence our undertaking is more arduous and difficult from its isolation. This will readily be believed when I tell you that I have seen but three white women since I left New York, four weeks ago, and two of those in one day, and but once. Not a white woman's foot has been upon the island, except my own and my daughter's, that we know of, for two months, and with one exception for three.

I have made this particular explanation of affairs, that those who are most interested may give us advice and counsel. F. D. GAGE.

P. S.—Since writing the above, a week since, sickness seems abating. The weather, though still very hot, is dry and relieved by sea breezes.

Remarks by the Editor.

We think we can assure Mrs. Gage that not one of the contributors to the fund for the support of her daughter will make the least objection to the change in her occupation above described—a change which, it seems, is made necessary by the peculiar condition and wants of those among whom she is laboring. When engaged in instructing mothers and daughters in the duties of housewifery she is not less a *teacher* than if she were inducting children into the mysteries of reading and spelling.

Mrs. Gage's recollection as to the action of the friends at Longwood is at fault in two particulars. It was not on Sunday, when the Yearly Meeting had adjourned, but on Saturday, when it was in session, that the principal contribution was taken up to aid in the support of a teacher at Paris Island. The subject was also brought to the notice of the audience gathered on Sunday, when further contributions were made. The Yearly Meeting did not pass a resolution making itself responsible for the full support of Mrs. Gage's daughter. One of the Clerks did indeed remark, on the occasion referred to, that he thought those present, with the aid of others in that region, were abundantly able to sustain a teacher, and that he hoped they would do so; but no resolution containing such a pledge was either passed or offered. The Yearly Meeting simply voted to make a contribution on the spot, and to appoint a Committee to solicit further subscriptions among those who were not present. The Committee consists of the following persons: Alice Eliza Hambleton, Esther Rakestraw, Ellen H. Jackson, Susan P. Chambers, Hannah J. Dixon, Elizabeth Jackson, Eliza Agnew, Rachel Wilson, Mary P. Jacobs, Sophia Moore, and Mercy Lloyd. Perhaps these friends have already discharged the duty they so kindly undertook to perform; but if not, they no doubt will do so ere long. We hope they may succeed in collecting even more than the sum which will be required for Miss Gage's support.

PERSONAL.

"Warrington" writes to the Springfield *Republican* that the sale of Phillips's speeches is likely to go up to 10,000.

Mrs. Caroline Augusta Street, widow of the late Admiral Foot, died at the residence of her father, Augustus R. Street, Esq., in New Haven, on the 26th ult.

John Morrissey, the pugilist, having been drafted in Erie Co., offered $5,000 for a substitute, requiring him to be five feet eleven inches high and to weigh 183 lbs. A man named George F. Eberley, of exactly the height and weight, and "sound as a hound's tooth," has accepted the offer.

President Lincoln has forwarded to the wife of the late Brig.-Gen. George C. Strong, who recently lost his life in one of the charges on Fort Wagner, on Morris Island, a Major-General's commission, to date from the day of the battle. This will entitle Mrs. Strong to the pension payable to the widow of an officer of the rank named.

Says the New Bedford (Mass.) *Standard*: "Rev. Wm. J. Potter, of the Unitarian Church in this city, was accepted as a recruit, and declined to furnish a substitute or pay the commutation. We understand that Mr. Potter is going to Washington on the invitation of the Secretary of War, who, we have no doubt, will assign him such a position as his talents and devotion to the cause merit."

Parson Brownlow gives notice of his intention to revive his paper just as soon as possible after the Union forces take Knoxville. In a letter to the Philadelphia *Press* he says: "I shall come down upon rebeldom after a style that will interest all loyal men North and South. I already have my prospectus written, and in a few weeks I shall have it in the leading Northern papers. The title of the paper will be "Brownlow's Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator."

John Brodhead, the man who, in 1860, wrote to Jeff. Davis expressing a desire to be appointed minister to Nicaragua, that he might "help open that country to civilization and niggers," and telling him at the same time that he was "tired of being a white slave at the North, and longed for a home at the sunny South," has been nominated for City Treasurer by the Copperhead Democracy of Philadelphia! The man is worthy of the party. Need we say more?

Death is making havoc among the concoctors of the rebellion. A few days ago we recorded the decease of Wm. L. Yancey; we now record that of John B. Floyd, who, as Secretary of War, under Buchanan, did so much to promote the designs of the rebel conspirators. He it was who, in 1860, was selected by the pro-slavery Democrats of this city to speak on the steps of the Exchange (now the Custom House) in reply to the speech of Gen. Banks, and who fortified himself for his task, while speaking, by frequent potations of brandy from a bottle in the hands of Capt. Rynders or some other faithful political friend!

Our readers have not forgotten the address of Brig.-Gen. Saxton to the Colored Soldiers and Freedmen in the Department of the South, proposing that they should erect a monument to the memory of Col. Shaw, as a fitting testimonial of their appreciation of his character and services. We now give the generous response of Brig.-Gen. Gillmore to that letter:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH,
MORRIS ISLAND, S. C., Aug. 10, 1863.

GENERAL: I have seen in the papers your address "To the Colored Soldiers and Freedmen of this Department," on the heroic conduct and death of Col. Robert G. Shaw, 54th Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry.

I desire to add my testimony to the worth and gallantry of that estimable officer and gentleman. He was not only a good, but a brave man; brave, indeed, to a fault, and I feel his loss severely.

Should an opportunity offer, I desire you to convey to the friends of the deceased, and to your subordinates in this Department, the assurance of my high appreciation of his transcendant patriotism and valor.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
Q. A. GILLMORE,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

Brig.-Gen. R. SAXTON, Military Governor, commanding at Beaufort, S. C.

GARIBALDI TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.—The following letter, signed by the leading Italian Liberals, the renowned Garibaldi at their head, has been sent to President Lincoln. It speaks the mind of every Democrat in Europe, and may well put to shame those in this country who steal the name of Democracy as a cover for the most arrogant and vulgar despotism that exists on the face of the whole earth:

CAPRERA, Aug. 6, 1863.

To ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *Emancipator of the Slaves in the American Republic.*

If in the midst of your Titanic battles, our voice can yet reach you, let us, O Lincoln, free sons of Columbus, send you a word of good wishes and of admiration for the great work that you have begun.

Heir of the aspirations of Christ and of John Brown, you will pass to posterity with the name of the Emancipator; more enviable than any crown or any human treasure.

An entire race of men, bowed by selfish egotism under the yoke of slavery, is, at the price of the noblest blood of America, restored by you to the dignity of man, to civilization, and to love.

America, mistress of liberty to our fathers, opens again the solemn epoch of human progress, and while she astonished the world by her gigantic daring, she makes us sorrowfully think how this old Europe, which also fights so great a battle for liberty, finds neither mind nor heart to equal her's. While the revelers in despotism raise their bacchanalism rejoicings over the fall of a free people, let free men religiously keep sacred the day of the fall of slavery. There are mysterious parallels in history—the robbery of Mexico, and the Lincoln proclamation. Prosperity to you, Abraham Lincoln, pilot of Liberty; hail to all you who for two years have fought and died around her regenerating banner; Weal to you, redeemed sons of Ham—the free men of Italy kiss the glorious marks of your chains.

New Publications.

BEYOND THE LINES: or, a Yankee Prisoner Loose in Dixie. By Capt. JOHN JAMES GEER, late of Gen. Buckland's Staff. With an Introduction, by Rev. ALEXANDER CLARKE. Pp. 285. Philadelphia: J. W. Daughaday.

The author of this volume was, for ten years before the commencement of the present war, a popular and successful minister of the Methodist Protestant Church, laboring in and around Cincinnati, and highly esteemed by a wide circle of friends. When the rebellion broke out he was pastor of the George street Church in Cincinnati, but at once began recruiting for the Army of Freedom, and afterwards received the appointment of Assistant-Adjutant General on the Staff of Gen. Buckland. Until this time, according to the testimony of his friend, Rev. Alexander Clarke, he had been unwilling to interfere with the "peculiar institution" of the South; but the moment the stars and stripes were insulted by the Slave Power, he resolved to hate and to hurt the accursed thing henceforward, until the last vestige of it should be obliterated from American soil. Two days before the battle of Shiloh, being sent out as one of a scouting party, he was taken prisoner, and in this volume he has told us the story of his six months captivity. It is a lucid and interesting narrative. He was tried for his life, on the most frivolous charges, before several prominent rebel generals, including Bragg and Beauregard; he was chained with negro chains and cast into military prisons and common jails; he lived for three weeks in pestitential swamps while attempting to escape, was hunted with bloodhounds, befriended by slaves, and finally recaptured.

His experiences among the people of the South, both white and black, give us a view of the interior workings of slavery. The slaves everywhere showed themselves friendly to the Yankee prisoners. They were sure that the success of the Yankees would end their bondage. Speaking of his imprisonment at Columbus, Mississippi, Mr. Geer says:

The negroes, whose business it was to bring our victuals, and keep the prison in some sort of order, were generally inquisitive in their looks, and often in their words. They wondered why so many white men were confined and guarded. I was much interested with two negro waiters, who came daily to our room, one about twelve and the other about fifteen years of age. Said George, the younger:

"Massa, when's you gwine to take Memphis?"

"Why? George!" said one of our party.

"Kase my mother's dar, and she'll be free when de Linkum sogers gits Memphis."

"George," said I, "what do you know about freedom?"

"Why, Lor' massa, I know'd if you'd whip 'em up dar, us colored folks 'ud all be free, an' dat's what makes dem rebels fight like de debel. God bless you, massa, I knows why. When de war broke out, I was livin' up in old Kentuck, and dey say now we'se got to take dis here nigger off, or else de Yankees will hab him. I hoped and prayed dat de Yankees *would* git me. God bless you massa, *I knows.*"

From this time I began to be more than ever interested in the negroes. I discovered a latent talent in the despised race. I resolved to investigate this new field of inquiry. The older one of these waiters and myself had afterward many a friendly interview. He told me that he had been reared in New Orleans. His father was a white man, who often comforted his innocent victim by saying that her offspring should be sent North to freedom. But when hostilities began, he entered the army, forgetful alike of his

track, and but for the friendly counsel and aid of slaves they would have been promptly captured. They baffled their pursuers, however, for three weeks, during which time their sufferings from hunger, anxiety, fatigue, and loss of sleep were fearful. They had wandered about in bogs and swamps four or five days, when, hungry, foot-sore and almost in despair, they were longing to find a plantation where there were slaves:

Suddenly, I heard the barking of a dog not far distant. We paused and listened. It was not a blood-hound. Collins, being a little deaf from the effects of terrific artillery-firing at Shiloh, did not, at first, catch the sound. Now we knew that help was near. We quickened our pace, and in a few minutes heard the voices of some negro men. A few steps further, and we came in sight of a cotton-field, which we approached by walking in the water of a small brook that flowed in that direction. With great caution, we neared the field, in which there were twenty-five negroes at work ploughing cotton. Most of the men looked old and toil-worn. While we were reconnoitering our ground, I observed an old, gray-haired man nearing the fence with his furrow, and when he paused a moment to scrape his plough, before returning across the field, I rapped on a rail, which instantly drew his attention. When I caught his eye, I beheld an intellect and a sympathy languaged there which gave me hope. I approached the old man with trembling step and faltering voice. I know, for there was danger of communicating with some excitable and treacherous slave—although such are rare cases—yet I ventured to speak to my wondering auditor. I approached that cotton-field, half-famished as I was, with many of my Virginia prejudices against the negroes, for I had been taught to regard them as unreliable and stupid. But I felt that death was in the swamp, and life *might* be in the cotton-field.

"Well, uncle," said I, "I am travelling through your country, and I am very ragged, as you see. I don't wish to call on white folks in this condition, and I am very hungry. Could you get me something to eat?"

"Oh, yes, massa! God bless you! all you want; but go back! go back!" he continued, waving his hand, as if to hurry me back to our hiding place; "go back, massa! dey's after you wid de hounds and de horses! Do you see dat ole cabin up dar, in dat field? To-night, just at 'leven o'clock, come to dat cabin, massa, and I'll gin you all de supper you want. Now go back! go back, massa!"

"Uncle, you won't bring anybody with you, will you?"

"Why, God bless you, massa; *I knows you! I knows you!*"

"Now, Uncle, what do you know about me?"

"Why, you's one of dem Yankees dat broke away from Macon prison, massa. *I knows you!* God bless you!"

"Well, Uncle, don't tell that to anybody, will you?"

"Tinks *I* tell anybody, massa, when all I'se got in dis worl' depends on ye? No, no, massa! But go back! go back, till 'leven o'clock! mine, now, massa!" and he started after his plough, for by this time the other hands were approaching. I went back, and reported the prospects to my comrade. We concealed ourselves in the thick brush to await the appointed hour. Just at dusk, the slaves unhitched their mules, finished up their rows, and started for their cabins, singing:

> "We'll soon be done wagging with the crosses,
> We'll soon be done wagging with the crosses,
> We'll soon be done wagging with the crosses,
> And wing, and wing, and wing with the angels,
> And den wing with the angels,
> In the New Jerusalem!"

It was weird, eccentric music, but really the most thrilling I had ever heard, as it rose through the still evening air in rich, mellow accord from the voices of the whole company of slaves returning to their humble homes for supper and rest. I thought how little the people in the North knew about these *crosses!* and I silently but fervently prayed for the day to hasten when all these weary ones might find the liberty for which they sang and suffered.

The hours passed slowly away, but at length the appointed hour of eleven o'clock drew nigh. We left our retreat, and advanced with the utmost caution, until we came within thirty yards of the cabin, when we lay down in a brier-path to watch for whatever movements might occur. For a few minutes we were kept in suspense, not feeling fully satisfied whether friend or foe might advance to meet us. Soon, however, the faithful old negro came to the designated trysting-place. He was evidently alone. He walked round and round the cabin, looking and waiting for us, and on seeing us not, seemed greatly disappointed. When we had assured ourselves that no one was with him, and that he was true, we arose from our concealment, and walked to the cabin. He was rejoiced to see our confidence in him, and was as thankful to give, as we were to receive, the rich repast he had prepared for us. Our supper consisted of corn-bread, smoked bacon and boiled cauliflowers. He also brought us a bottle of sweetened water. What a feast! Never did I partake of food with such a relish. We received it as directly from the hand of Him who "heareth the young ravens when they cry." Being assured by our old friend that we were perfectly safe, we tarried after supper several hours, conversing on the state of our country, and receiving advice as to the manner of proceeding on our journey. As the venerable man talked to us, telling us how to escape to our homes and friends, sharing his sympathies and his means with us poor destitute wanderers, my old prejudices of caste were entirely obliterated. Beneath that dark brow was the mind of a man, and within that slave's bosom beat a brother's heart. I could have embraced him as my father.

"Now, massa," said he, as we were about to separate until all true friends shall meet in heaven, "now, do jis as I tells you, and you'll git away. You keep dis pine-ridge straight on through massa's plantation for five mile. Dis ridge goes clean to de coast. It's 'bout three hundred mile to de coast by de Ocmulgee riber. The Ocmulgee flows into de Altamaha, and Darien is at de mouth of de Altamaha, and you'll find lots of de Yankees dar."

The old man understood the times. His knowledge of the war, with all its recent and important movements, was thorough and accurate, although he was careful and somewhat reticent, even in his communications to us. In order to test his professed knowledge of us, and to ascertain all we could relative to our pursuers, we plied him with various questions.

"Well, uncle," said we, "I suppose you know we are running from the conscript?"

"No, sah, I knows you is the Yankees what broke out o' jail at Macon, dat's what I knows."

"You're right, uncle. Now what do you know about this war?"

"I doesn't know much about it, sah; only I knows dat dey say, if de Yankees whips, de darkies all be free, but if dese har rebels whips, den we be slaves."

"Which do you prefer should gain the day?"

"Why, God bless you, massa! does you tink I's a fool? Course I wants you to whip."

"You say they are hunting us; how many have they after us?"

"I doesn't know jis zacly; but I knows dat tree men come to massa day 'fore yesterday for to git a blood-hound to hunt Yankees with what runned away from Macon prison."

I confess that the thought of being pursued by bloodhounds was horrifying in the extreme; and notwithstanding we had already seen two large packs at different times upon our track, the possible death by these fierce monsters in this wilderness made my blood run cold.

Our further conversation gave us a full and satisfactory knowledge of our route, and was delineated by our sable friend, as we had afterward reason to know, with perfect geographical accuracy. We asked him in case we should be pursued by the bloodhounds, what means we should employ to bewilder them. This was no new subject to him. He, in common with his fellow-bondmen, had seen too many instances in which these brutes had been employed in capturing fugitives, not to know their nature, as well as the plans adopted to elude them. He told us when the dogs followed us in the cane-brake, in order to prevent them from keeping the trail, we should travel as much as possible in the water; but if we should be closely pursued, to leave the cane-brake, and take to the Ocmulgee river. He assured us that the dogs were fearful of the alligators with which that river abounded, and that the slaves were taught that alligators would destroy only negroes and dogs. He didn't believe it himself, although his master thought he did. He added:

"If dem houns git close on to you, why you jis git a long pole, and hop about twenty feet, it you kin. You do dis four or five times, and whenever you light, why jis put some pepper in de holes what your heels make, and when de houns come, dey lose dar scent, and den dey goes a snuffin and a snuffin roun', and bymeby dey snuffles up dat 'ar pepper into dar nostrils, and den dey'll go chee! chee! chee! and dat'll be de last dem dogs can do dat day."

This piece of information, and the manner in which it was conveyed, accompanied as it was by violent gyrations of the body, and an exact imitation of dog-sneezing, was very amusing; and though surrounded by forbidding circumstances, we indulged in an audible smile.

From this man we first learned of a complete organization among the negroes, for the purpose of aiding fugitives in making their escape. It was similar to an institution which I had often heard of as existing in the Northern States, under the name of "Underground Railroad." The officers of this Southern Underground Railroad, on which we were glad to take passage, were the slaves of the different plantations, who were thoroughly acquainted with their duties, and were very suspicious lest they should be imposed upon. When we inquired how these men should know us, he told us that he would arrange that matter, so that we need have no fears, but to submit ourselves to their guidance, and all would be well.

The fugitives wandered on, enduring almost incredible hardships, till they reached a point within 35 miles of Darien, when they were recaptured and taken back to Macon. We have not space now to follow them any further, and must omit many interesting incidents that we had marked for insertion. We commend the book to our readers as worthy of a careful perusal and extensive circulation.

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE for August (American Edition, L. Scott & Co., 38 Walker st.) contains the following articles: A Visit to an Insurgent Camp—Letter from Poland; Caxtoniana, Part XVIII.; Novels; Translations of Horace; Indian Prosperity; George Cruikshank; The State and Prospects of the Church of England; In the Garden; The Perpetual Curate, Part III.; Capt. Speke's Welcome.

THE BLACK MAN: His Antecedents, his Genius, and his Achievements. By WILLIAM WELLS BROWN. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Thomas Hamilton, 50 Beekman street.

The first edition of this work having been widely diffused, its character and object are too well understood to need description here. It contains biographical sketches, more or less complete, of 58 representative men and women of "African descent," who, by their own genius, capacity, and intellectual development, have surmounted the many obstacles which slavery and prejudice threw in their way, and raised themselves to positions of honor and influence. Among them are Benjamin Banneker, Nat Turner, Madison Washington, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Crispus Attucks, Ira Aldrich, Alexander Dumas, Denmark Vesey, Frederick Douglass, Sir Edward Jordan, C. L. Remond, Robert Purvis, and President Geffrard. The work is a good one to place in the hand of any person who, through ignorance or prejudice, has been led to regard the blacks as an inferior race.

HOSPITAL SKETCHES. By LOUISA M. ALCOTT. Boston: James Redpath. New York: J. J. Spelman, 70 Grove street.

Most of these Sketches were first printed in the Boston *Commonwealth*, where they won praise from literary men and women of the first ability. The publisher, having agreed to pay the author the usual copyright and resolved to devote at least five cents for every copy sold to the support of orphans made fatherless or homeless by the war, will not permit any journal to publish any part of the contents. The writer, who is understood to describe scenes of which she was an eye-witness, is the gifted daughter of the Transcendental Philosopher, A. Bronson Alcott.

THE EMPIRE OF THE MOTHER OVER THE CHARACTER AND DESTINY OF THE RACE. By HENRY C. WRIGHT. Pp. 132. Boston: Bela Marsh. New York: A. J. Davis & Co.

The author of this work aims to show that the period between the conception and birth of human beings, as to the formation of their character and the control of their destiny after they are born, is the most important period of their existence; that what is done for them in the pre-natal state, while their organic conditions and tendencies are being formed and fixed, bears more directly and powerfully on their health and happiness of body and soul, than what is done for them after they are born. This doctrine, if true, is certainly of the very highest importance; and the considerations urged in support of it by Mr. Wright are surely such as should commend it, both on scientific and moral grounds, to the most careful investigation.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW for July (L. Scott & Co.'s American Edition, 38 Walker St.) contains nine articles, as follows: The Resources and Future of Austria; Natural History of the Bible; Glacial Theories; Our Colonial System; Washington Irving; Modern Spiritualism; Sacred Trees and Flowers; Roba di Roma; The Nile—Speke and Grant.

EMANCIPATION CONVENTION IN MISSOURI.—A mass Convention of the Radical Emancipationists of Missouri convened at Jefferson City, the State Capital, on Tuesday. Four-fifths of the Counties were represented, and other delegates were yet to arrive. Judge Wells of Cole County was chosen President. The following resolution created the wildest enthusiam, and was referred to the Committee on Resolutions:

Resolved, That, relying upon the unanimity of feeling existing between the Union men of Missouri and Illinois, we respectfully request the latter, while assembled in mass meeting at Springfield, to join us in appealing to the President for such a change of Administration in the Department of Missouri as will correct the evils of the policy of pro-slavery conservatism and concession to rebels, which has permitted the massacre at Lawrence, and under which the true loyal men of Missouri are to-day suffering the infliction of a murderous civil strife from the presence of large numbers of enemies to the government, while every foot of her soil is under Federal rule.

A resolution was adopted, declaring it expedient that the Convention make necessary arrangements for calling a Constitutional Convention to adopt and submit to the people an Ordinance for Immediate Emancipation, and take such other measures as will tend to pacify the State.

Resolutions were also adopted recommending the people to instruct in writing, by a majority of voters, each member of the present Legislature who will not pledge himself in writing to vote to call a new Convention; the name of each member betraying his constituents to be published in every newspaper in the State.

The following resolution was also adopted:

Resolved, That we respecfully demand of Gen. Schofield permission to recruit volunteers belonging to disloyalists in this State; that as the exigencies of the times indicate a change of Department Commanders, we appoint a Committee to draft a memorial, which shall be signed by the members of this Convention, requesting the President to assign Gen. Butler, or some other suitable man, to command this Department; that we regard the President's January proclamation of 1863 as irrevocable, and we request our Legislature, and Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their utmost endeavors to have our National Constitution amended so as to prohibit slavery forver in States now free or hereafter applying for admission into the Union.

REBEL EXULTATION.—It has been stated in our columns more than once that a considerable number of free colored people were carried off from Pennsylvania by the rebels at the time they invaded that State. The following paragraph from the Richmond *Enquirer* confirms these statements, and shows how the kidnappers exulted over their prey:

"That 'land of milk and honey,' Pennsylvania, so beautifully described in certain Confederate army correspondence, has liberally poured into the bosom of Old Virginia, through the agency of Gen. Stuart, about a hundred negroes, men, women and children—mostly 'emigrants' originally from the South. They arrived here and were sent to Castle Thunder on yesterday. Some twenty are 'native and to the manor born' in Dutch Dixie. Among them was a prim and haughty claret colored dame, who, upon being asked her name, replied, with magnificent affectation: 'My name is Mrs. Ellen Darks, from Pennsylvania; my maiden name was Miss Ellen Stratton. I suppose I may term myself a widow now, as my husband was not captured and remains in Pennsylvania.' [A smile, intended to be bewitchingly ambiguous.] Her style created considerable sensation, as a matter of course, and Mrs. Ellen Darks, *nee* Miss Ellen Stratton, was accordingly distinguished by unusal attentions from the officials of the establishment, who are prone to poking fun."

Such is rebel wit!

EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI.—A correspondent of the St. Louis *Democrat* writes to that paper from Pilot Knob, Mo., Aug. 20, as follows:

"Philip Pipkin (of Iron County, Mo., and a member of the late State Convention, and one of the most pro-slavery members of that body) owned a family of seven negroes, one man, his wife and five children. On the 17th inst., Mr. Pipkin told Tom it he thought he could make a living for himself and family, and do better than he was doing with him, that he could go and take all his chattels with him, and that he (Pipkin) would help him away. Tom took him at his word, and on the next day, Tom and his family passed through Pilot Knob seeking a home for himself. Mr. Pipkin promised to give Tom and his family tree papers, but this he afterwards refused to do, on the ground that it would bind him (Pipkin) for the conduct and support of the negroes. But at the same time he disclaimed any intention to ever call on Tom or his family for any service whatever. I understand Tom and Mr. Pipkin parted friendly, and the darkies went on their way rejoicing. This looks like immediate emancipation. Mr. Pipkin could not afford to wait for the tardy operation of the Ordinance of the State Convention. Who will go and do likewise?"

RECONSTRUCTION AND THE SUPREME COURT. — The Rochester *Express* says it has private information that the whole bench of the United States Supreme Court, Judge Taney included, have agreed to the opinion that "the States in rebellion have lost their rights as States, and must come into the Union simply as Territories, subject to the General government and entitled to its protection; and that new State organizations may be formed by the people, under the Constitution and laws of Congress, as in the case of other Territories, but the old States cannot come into the Union with their present organization and officers."

We should like to be assured that the Rochester *Express* is, in this case, accurately informed; but it is hardly credible that the Court which made the Dred Scott decision has come to so sound a conclusion upon a point involving the fate of the slave system.

OBITUARY.

THE intelligence incidentally received of the decease, on the 15th inst., of AMOS GILBERT in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, reminds the writer of an agreement, half playfully, half seriously made between us many years since, that the survivor should write the obituary of the other. With little taste for eulogies of the dead, the deep debt of gratitude I, in common with many others, feel due to him for assistance in intellectual and moral advancement, seems to render a brief expression of it necessary. His memory will long be cherished by large numbers in Northeastern Ohio, as one of the most successful pioneers in the cause of education, of anti-slavery, and of general reform and progress. It is to be hoped that some of his earlier acquaintances will give to the public a sketch of his benevolent and self-sacrificing labors in behalf of the negro race for long years before the inauguration by William Lloyd Garrison of the general anti-slavery movement. A more enlarged benevolence, a keener sense of what is justice between man and man, it is believed has never been exhibited in human character.

Marlboro, Ohio, Aug. 26, 1863. A. B.

THE EXODUS OF SLAVES FROM MISSOURI TO KANSAS goes on with great rapidity. Not a day passes that scores do not leave the border Counties of Missouri for the free soil of Kansas. One number of the St. Joseph *Herald* records the following instances illustrative of this hegira:

"All of E. B. Kirtley's negroes left their master here last night for parts unknown.

"A gentleman from Platte County informs us that thirteen slaves left that County Wednesday and went to Kansas. They went in the light of the noonday sun.

"Over one hundred and ninety negroes took their masters' horses and wagons in Saline County, last Sunday, and in open day formed a procession and marched to Kansas. These things are marching on."

The country papers are said to be filled with similar announcements.

IS THE SOUTH ARMING THE SLAVES?—A rumor to this effect comes to us *via* Fortress Monroe, and is confirmed by a Washington correspondent of *The Tribune*, on the strength of a letter from Richmond, the substance of which he professes to give; and the editor, knowing his correspondent's "sources of information are usually trustworthy," sees "no reason to doubt them in this instance." The story may be true, but we cannot believe it without further evidence. The letter referred to, with the comments of *The Tribune* thereon, will be found in another column, and our readers will judge for themselves whether the evidence is satisfactory or not.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

Fort Sumter, though almost demolished, still flies the rebel flag. A rebel dispatch, dated 28th ult., announces that our forces were working hard in the trenches in front of Wagner. No further attempt has been made to shell the city. Union accounts are to the 26th. They do not differ from former advices. Fort Wagner was not taken, and the navy was to go on without reference to it, leaving it to the land forces.

An Expedition left Williamsburg, Va., on the 26th, pushing through New-Kent Court-House, directly to Bottom's Bridge. At the latter place, one rebel regiment of infantry in rifle pits were found, who were supported by a squadron of cavalry. A charge was made, the rebel rifle pits were carried, and the rebels driven across the bridge, which was tore up behind them. Our troops lost one killed and one wounded. We captured five prisoners, and the enemy left dead on the ground, one officer, one sergeant, and two men. They also carried off a number of dead. The bridge being rendered impassable, and the object of the expedition accomplished, our troops returned.

We have conflicting news from Arkansas. From Fort Gibson it is reported that Gen. Blunt, with 3,000 men and 12 pieces of artillery, crossed the Arkansas on the 23d, the enemy, with a force reported at 25,000, falling back and declining battle. Another story is from Fort Scott, saying that it was there reported that Gen. Blunt had been badly whipped, losing 3,000 men.

We have the report from an escaped prisoner from Little Rock, Ark., that Kirby Smith and Price are there, in command of some 40,000 men, many of whom are conscripts, and only half armed. The rebels are said to be erecting fortifications thirteen miles below Little Rock. There is a report, also, that our forces under Gen. Blunt are marching on Arkadelphia.

Lee's rebel army, according to the best attainable information, is very much scattered. It is said to occupy the country from the line of the Blue Ridge on the west to Port Royal, on the Rappahannock River below Fredericksburg, on the east. Ewell is believed to command the left, A. P. Hill the centre, and Longstreet the right. Stirring news may be expected soon from the Rappahannock, as an expedition has been fitted out to capture the gunboats *Reliance* and *Satellite*, now in possession of the rebels at Port Royal.

It is announced in the New Orleans correspondence of the Chicago *Times* that an attack on Mobile will shortly be made by three corps, under command of Gens. Franklin, Ord and Herron, the whole under the direction of Gen. Banks. Admiral Farragut is to command the fleet, which is expected to reduce the harbor defences.

The pursuit of Quantrell's guerillas has thus far resulted in the killing of over a hundred of them, including a Capt. Estes, recently engaged in recruiting for Marmaduke's forces.

A rebel dispatch from Jackson, Miss., of the 25th August, states that important military movements were on foot at Vicksburg, the nature of which has not transpired. A force of 5,000 Union men were moving from Yazoo toward Benton. Some rebel cavalry lately went within eight miles of Vicksburg, where they attacked some negro pickets, but some of Grant's cavalry came up and the rebels "retired," as they say, very well thrashed. A later dispatch says the Yankees are four miles below Raymond, Miss.

A letter from Springfield, Illinois, says: "The Copperheads of the Southern part of the State are fast bringing on a perilous crisis. A battalion of the 16th Illinois Cavalry, who have been arresting deserters in Fayette and adjoining Counties, were last night attacked at Vandalia, by four hundred armed Copperheads, who attempted to release the deserters in their charge. They were led by an officer formerly in the United States service. The Copperheads were repulsed with a loss of several killed and wounded. The cavalry force is fully able to protect itself. Accounts from other parts of the State show that the Copperheads are ripe for any movement against the United States government."

Washington, Sept. 1.—Well informed parties allege that Gen. McClellan's report was only received at the Adjutant-General's Department three weeks ago, and that it will take one man many months to read it and its accompanying documents with the attention it deserves. It will occupy when printed three large quarto volumes, with charts, diagrams, etc. For its publication a large Congressional appropriation will be requisite. The Secretary of War has not yet had time to read it, but is about instituting a committee of officers, to be presided over by Maj.-Gen. David Hunter, who will be charged with the duty of reading it and reporting as to whether or not it shall be published as an official document.—*Cor. N. Y. Herald.*

The Army and the Negroes.

EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

IMPORTANT TRIALS IN LOUISIANA.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

New Orleans, Aug. 19.—Two very important cases have recently come before the Courts, of which you will find details in the local papers, and to which I merely allude on account of the interesting questions of law which they involve.

The first is that of the Fourth District murder, in which a colored serjeant of our army, named Pete Johnson, deliberately shot another colored man, Bill Jenkins, whom he had chased with a squad of men under his command, with the charge of his being a deserter, and offering violent resistance. The Coroner's Jury have brought in a verdict of "willful murder" against Johnson, and the question now arising is, how far this civil decision may conflict with any military one; and if so, which is paramount.

The other case is far more important. A. Mr. H. N. Renthrop, owning a plantation some twenty-five miles above Algiers, was brought up before Judge Hughes on the charge of murdering his slave George, and the Judge has ruled that the charge against Renthrop for having "willfully, maliciously, and with malice aforethought," murdered the man, is sufficiently proved by testimony, for the matter to be committed for trial, although the Judge admits the accused to bail in the sum of $25,000.

The great point to come up, in this case, will be respecting the validity of negro testimony; the whole evidence of the alleged killing of the man being, I believe, entirely confined to four or five negroes on the plantation.

What the testimony of these negroes may be worth, as to truth or falsehood, I have no means of judging; but it did seem strange, in this era of civilization (though previously aware of the fact), to hear the learned counsel for the defence, Col. Field, get up and assert that, "under the law of Louisiana and of every other Southern State, the oath of a slave cannot be taken against a white person!"

Thousands upon thousands were, probably, first made aware by Mrs. Stowe's novel that so extraordinary a law existed, and many perhaps considered it almost incredible; yet here we are staring this said law full in the face! A white man may commit the most brutal and cold-blooded murder (I make no allusion whatever to this individual case, for I know nothing of Mr. Renthrop's guilt or innocence)—he is probably in a position where nobody can, by any possibility, see him do it *but* black people; and though the deed be committed in their very presence, the testimony of these people is not to be received by law! Did ever human ingenuity invent so far-reaching a weapon of unbridled and irresponsible despotism?

This being, as Col. Field argues, the existing law of Louisiana, and this part of Louisiana being—as he further argues—in precisely the same position as it was before the rebellion, according to the President's proclamation, there is no *evidence* whatever against Mr. Renthrop. It remains to be seen how the existing authorities here are going to regard this negro testimony; and therein is the whole interest of the question.

THE SLAVES OF ALL DISLOYAL MEN IN WESTERN MISSOURI TO BE TAKEN INTO KANSAS.

Correspondence of The Missouri Democrat.

KANSAS CITY, MO., Aug. 20th, 1863.

There is light in the West! The "troubled border" is to be no longer vexed with the doubtful, devilish policy of those who aid the rebellion by upholding slavery. General Order No. 9, issued this morning by Gen. Ewing, takes the starch out of the Convention Ordinance completely. The following is a copy:

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE BORDER,
KANSAS CITY, MO., August 18, 1863.

General Orders No. 9.

I. Lieut.-Col. Walter King, 4th Regiment M. S. M., will, as often as may be necessary, visit the several military stations in that part of Missouri included in this District, and ascertain what negroes are there who desire escort out of Missouri, and were the slaves of persons who, since the 17th day of july, 1862, have been engaged in the rebellion, or have in any way given aid or comfort thereto. He will make and certify a list of all such negroes at each of such stations, and of the persons by whom the disloyalty of their masters can be shown, and will deliver one copy of such list to the Commander of such station, and forward one to these Headquarters. Before preparing such lists, he will give due and public notice of the time at which he will be engaged in such duty at each station. He will be governed in the discharge of his duties by special written instructions received from or through these Headquarters.

II. Commanders of such stations will furnish from time to time, as they may be called for by commanders of escorts, copies of the lists so prepared and filed with them; and will issue rations, where necessary, to negroes named in such lists who are unable to remove from such station or to earn a living there, until escort can be furnished them to a place of safety where they can support themselves.

III. Commanders of companies and detachments serving in that part of Missouri included in the District will give escort and subsistance, where practicable, to all negroes named in such certified lists, to Independence, Kansas City, Westport or the State of Kansas—sending direct to these headquarters all such negroes fit for military service, and willing to enlist. By order of Brig.-Gen. Ewing.

P. B. PLUMB, Major and Chief of Staff.

Col. King, to whom the execution of this order is entrusted, is a Radical Immediate Emancipationist. He addresses the Unconditional Emancipationists of Kansas City on the 25th of this month by special invitation.

The effect of this order cannot be but to rid this District of most of its slaves in a very short time. Large numbers of slaves claimed by rebels are already congregated at Lexington, Warrensburg, Germantown and other military posts in this District, and as soon as it is known that they are to be furnished military escort to a place of safety the remainder will come forward. It is easy to see that under the operation of this order there will be few negroes left in this District in the next sixty days. They will flock to Kansas, taking the place of the thousands of laborers who have gone into the army from that State, and filling the ranks of the new colored regiments to be raised there.

Gen. Ewing has the authority from the War Department to raise a regiment of negroes for the service. All negroes born in this country, being American citizens according to the recent decision of Attorney-Gen. Bates, have a right to enlist in the army of the United States, no matter whether claimed by loyal or disloyal persons; and when once enlisted, the claim of the government to their service is the paramount claim, and cannot be relinquished in favor of any person however loyal. Of course the regiment will be filled up, and if it should happen to include many slaves of persons who can "prove their loyalty," who shall complain? Certainly no loyal man; not even those who claim the darkies, if they are truly loyal; for being loyal they would of course give their sons to the cause, and do they think more of their negroes than of their own blood?

The occupation, by the Federal armies, of slave territory has commonly had the effect of furnishing means of exit to large numbers of slaves. But I think this is the first instance where it has been made the *duty* of commanders of military escorts to aid them in escaping from the place of their bondage. As such, it is a long stride in the right direction. It is a precedent which will be followed until Missouri is free; and Missouri, loyal and free, is worth all the war has cost. Missouri free, and the border troubles will live only in history.

The lease given to slavery by the late Convention will expire long "before its time." It is but "love's labor lost," and another evidence of the futility of all attempts to stay the waves of freedom by man's puny edicts. The institution is doomed, and those who have clung to it so long and so desperately will be enveloped in its destruction, if they do not soon let go their hold. Let them be warned by what is going on around them.

IMPRESSMENT OF NEGROES IN KENTUCKY.

From The Frankfort Commonwealth, Aug 24.

We understand that the impressment of negroes, in the Counties named in Gen. Boyle's order, for work upon the railroads proposed to be built by the government, will be commenced at an early day. A fear has been expressed by many that the impressment will be made without any regard to the loyalty or disloyalty of the slaveholders. We are inclined to the opinion that this fear is groundless, for we cannot bring ourselves to the belief that the military authorities would falsify the promises which they have made in this regard. It would be an outrage, if the negroes of Union men are touched so long as there are belonging to the disloyal portion of the people a sufficient number to answer the demands of the public service. It would be a gross and inexcusable violation of the solemn pledges already made in military orders to the Union men of Kentucky.

If it should be the purpose of those in authority, to do this thing, the Union men should speak out at once boldly and distinctly, and protest against the continuance in office of any man who will thus place treason and patriotism upon an equality in regard to the impressment of private property. Let those who, by word or deed, encourage the rebels to continue in armed hostility to the government, suffer all the inconveniences of this war, so far as is practicable. Let it be known that there is some benefit to accrue to those who are true to the nation, and faithful in their allegiance. Right and justice demand this.

ADJT.-GEN. THOMAS AT VICKSBURG.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

Adjt.-Gen. Thomas has issued the following order:

VICKSBURG, MISS., Aug. 18, 1863.

SPECIAL ORDERS, NO. 45.—Under instructions from the Secretary of War, the undersigned hereby announces his return to this region of the country for the purpose of continuing the organization into the military service of the United States of all able-bodied male persons of African descent, who may come within our lines, or who may be brought in by our troops, or who may already have placed themselves under the protection of the Federal government; also to take such measures as may prove most beneficial for the welfare of all women, children, aged and infirm persons of African descent who may have sought refuge within our lines, or who may hereafter do so.

In future all able-bodied male negroes of the above class will at once be organized by such officers as may be detailed for that duty, into the military service of the United States, when they will be assigned to regiments composed of persons of African descent now in process of formation or to be formed hereafter.

It has become apparent that the system of receiving all negroes who may have sought the protection of our government, and allowing them, in many instances, to remain in a state of almost inactivity has become at times not only injurious to the interests of the service, but to the welfare of the negroes themselves, resulting in habits of idleness, sickness and disease.

It is further considered expedient that all children and families of negro descent who may hereafter be desirous of seeking refuge within the lines of the United States troops, be advised to remain on the plantations or elsewhere where they have heretofore been in a state of servitude, provided such place be under the control of the national troops. All such negroes will receive the protection of this government while they remain in the locations that may be designated, and all such persons as may be authorized to occupy plantations or other places, will be permitted to employ these families and children in any capacity most suited to their ability.

All male negroes who are incapacitated by old age, ill health, or in any other respect, from serving in regiments of African descent, will be duly cared for and assigned as heretofore to the nearest camp for such persons.

By order of the Secretary of War,
L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

Gen. Thomas has been chiefly occupied while here in investigating the condition of the troops already raised, and of the contrabands who are not fit for military duty. The latter part of his duty bids fair to become the most formidable and perplexing. The facts have not yet been sufficiently developed to enable us to judge what policy is best to be pursued, but it is already clear that the crisis will tax our sagacity, our humanity and our discretion to the utmost. I understand that the General will shortly issue an appeal to the benevolent to provide clothing for the negroes not liable to military service. The government has no authority to furnish them, and unless charity provides for them they will suffer severely. J. A. W.

DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND.

Winchester, Tenn., August 18, 1863.—The Board of Examination of officers for the negro regiments have decided upon the qualifications of officers for two regiments, and Capt. Charles R. Thompson, Aid-de-camp to Gen. Rosecrans, has been appointed Colonel of one, and Col. Mehaldzi, Colonel of the Twenty-fourth Illinois, has been made Colonel of the other negro regiment.

The regiment numbers nine hundred and eighty enlisted men, and Col. Thompson takes command today, reporting for pioneer duty to Col. W. P. Tunes. The regimental organization is the same as in the regular army.—*N. Y. Herald.*

THE QUESTION OF RETALIATION.

Correspondence Atlanta (Ga.) Appeal, August 20.

Fifty negroes, mostly slaves stolen from neighboring plantations, among whom were ten recognized as the property of Judge McGehee, were captured after the action. The disposition of these insurrectionary slaves, found with arms in their hands in actual rebellion against their masters, by which overt acts according to the laws of the State they had forfeited their lives, is the subject of much outside conjecture and speculation. The general impression is that Col. Logan should have dealt with them summarily, hanging them to the first tree, or shooting them *sans ceremonie*, that their fate might be a warning and example to others. The law of *so defendendo*, that great and natural right of nations as well as individuals, which permits a man to tear down his neighbor's house which is in flames to save his own, would clearly justify the speedy execution of these slaves, that the terrible evil of insurrection and of banding with the enemy might be effectually checked. England carried out this extreme penalty—this paramount right—in her dealings with the insurrectionary Sepoys in India with excellent effect; and France and Spain have repeatedly and successfully tested its efficacy among their colonial insurrectionary blacks. The peculiar position which we occupy relatively to our barbarian enemy, who deny us now even the bare right of belligerents, proclaiming that we are "rebels" and have no rights, and who, by the proclamation of their President, take the unnatural, absurd and untenable ground that we must respect as prisoners of war, and regularly exchange even our very slaves whom they have stolen from us and armed, inciting them to insurrection, even against the Constitution and laws of the United States, and proclaiming that they will retaliate, man for man—a white man for a black—in whatever punishment we see fit to inflict upon our own slaves recaptured from them, might, perhaps, compel us to take the initiative, and by the summary execution of these fifty negro assassins, dare them to take the step which will bring upon the government and people of the United States the condemnation and detestation of mankind, while it would lift the South to a pitch of united hatred and enthusiasm against the North that would secure our independence in three months thereafter. But it is said, with what decree of veracity I am unable to decide, that *Col. Logan has taken the entire responsibility, and that the negroes aforesaid were shot soon after the engagement, at a little place called Centerville, twenty miles from Jackson, La.* It is said, also, that prior to the execution, Gen. Andrews, learning the intended fate of the slaves, sent a communication under flag of truce from Port Hudson, warning Col. Logan that if he executed the negroes he would immediately retaliate, as he had the material in his possession. If this should prove true, the Pandora box of this war is now opened in earnest, and the skull and cross bones will become the insignia of the Southern battle flag.

A NOVEL SCENE IN ST. LOUIS.

A strange scene was presented in St. Louis on Thursday, Aug. 20. Just as the merchants were closing their stores, there marched down to the wharf four companies of colored soldiers going to the field—three hundred and thirty black men, in Federal uniforms, carrying Federal muskets, under the Federal flag, marching to the music of Yankee Doodle. Some of the timid ones of the city had suggested that it would be safer to march these troops from their barracks after nightfall, as thus the peace of the city would not be endangered. But the officer in command did not view the matter in that light; he thought the open day was as good a time as any to march loyal men through the streets of a loyal city to the defence of the nation; and so, just at sunset, without any molestation whatever, he led the first regiment of colored soldiers from Missouri through the streets of St. Louis. One year ago this would have been impossible; but Providence and the events He orders are stronger than human prejudices, stronger even than human hates; and, spite of all these, Freedom goes marching on, gathering new triumphs with every advancing step.—*Evening Post.*

THE YOUNG SLAVE WOMEN AT WARRENTON, VA.

Warrenton possesses many beautiful houses and polished denizens. Being but four miles from the White Sulphur Springs, it was constantly resorted to throughout each Summer as a drive and visiting point by the numerous pleasure-seekers at that well-known watering place. A dark feature in its history, and one painful to touch upon, is the fact of its long containing numerous attractive young slave women, with but a faint tinge of African blood, who were reared without education or self-respect, and became very profitable to their owners as the mothers of children still fairer than themselves, sired by so-called aristocracy, and bearing in their features the impress of both beauty and gentle blood. The sons were usually sold to the South, at very high prices, but the daughters were retained as a source of more gain. Many of these girls were removed to secure localities early in the war, but a few still remain, especially of tender years. One large-eyed little being of ten years, named "Queen," accosted an officer yesterday in my presence. After the very common custom of Southern aristocracy, she had been sent through the streets by her mistress with a basket of vegetables to sell, as a daily task, after which she was accustomed to idle about the house. She had corn to sell at fifty cents for a dozen ears, and tomatoes on the same terms. "I ain't coming here any more," said she, with a very pretty toss of her head, on receiving a refusal. This was a clincher, and the officer purchased. Queen's daily presence for five minutes kindled the surrounding atmosphere. Queen is of a rich cream color, and though with an air of unfathomable wisdom, cannot read. She is now free. Will not somebody send Queen to school, and make a fine woman of her? Nothing is to be hoped for her hereabout.—*Cor. Tribune.*

ORGANIZATION OF COLORED REGIMENTS.

Washington, Sept. 1.—We learn that the President has received a letter from Gen. Grant, in which he not only pledges himself to aid Adjt.-Gen. Thomas in his labors, but also heartily endorses the emancipation proclamation and the raising of colored troops, and earnestly expresses the opinion, that with the latter great results can be attained. For a distance of ten or fifteen miles on both sides of the Mississippi, nearly all the slaves have been run off to the interior by the rebel planters. Gen. Grant has sent out two expeditions for the purpose of liberating such slaves as can be found, and to spread the glad tidings amongst those still in bondage.

Colored regiments are now being organized in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Washington, Rhode Island, Ohio, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, and throughout every Military Department at the South. Gen. Thomas sends favorable reports concerning the raising of colored regiments in Mississippi.

The Colored Bureau is receiving numerous applications from officers in the States to raise colored regiments. The rule has been established in the War Department to recognize no officer who has not been examined and passed by the Examining Board now in session in this city.—*Tribune.*

THE PEOPLE have been so much imposed upon by several worthless Sarsaparillas, that we

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

LOVE'S RECORD.

When first the blushing roses came,
You as a stranger spoke my name;
When they were crowded thick with bloom,
As friends we planned to give them room;
And one, I blushing, broke for you—
How could I blush and break for two?

When first the hawthorn berries fell,
You spoke and said you loved me well.
Some words I answered, faint and light,
But knew your eyes were gleaming bright;
We loitered through our little glen;
You did not doubt my meaning then.

When shone the stars on fields of snow,
You spoke and said that you must go,
And though I gave no tear nor sigh,
I saw no doubting in your eye;
And when you left me at the gate,
You did not *ask* if I would wait.

You asked no plighted faith that day,
You asked not what my heart would say;
Then, though we were to live apart,
Unspoken trust filled all your heart;
Then why to-day that gloomy brow?
Am I less fond and faithful now?

UNA.

*WENDELL PHILLIPS.**

BY HORACE GREELEY.

GREAT orators have been rare in all ages; Great Britain has now but Gladstone; in France, Berryer, growing old, is being quietly replaced by Jules Favre; this country, in the course of a hundred years, has known—how many? James Otis; Patrick Henry; Henry Clay; Sergeant S. Prentiss; Wendell Phillips—have there been any others? Daniel Webster's was one of the largest, brightest intellects: he spoke forcibly, because he thought deeply, saw clearly, and reasoned cogently; but I was never thrilled by the magic of his voice, and would nearly as soon read one of his great speeches as hear him make it. John C. Calhoun's was a subtle brain: he was rather a metaphysician than an orator; he argued tersely, compactly; if you granted his premises, he would almost compel you to adopt his conclusion; but Clay's charm was in his manner, his utterance; he wielded audiences and molded senates, but did not, even in life, greatly influence those who never met and did not personally hear him, while his speeches are scarcely read at all since his death. He dealt so entirely with interests, with measures, with details and adjustments, that few even of his happiest efforts bear separation from their immediate impulses and occasions; he spoke warmly and nobly in behalf of South American independence, of the development and diversification of American industry, and of the guaranteed rights of the semi-civilized Indians; but he very rarely dug deliberately down to the primary rocks and insisted on solving the problem of the hour by the application of universal principles, of eternal truth. Hence the rapid decline of his reputation as a speaker—while his less popular contemporaries, Webster and Calhoun, continue to be read and admired. Prentiss spent his maturity mainly at the bar in a comparatively rude section, and was excluded by his political affinities from all but a mere glimpse of public life; but the testimony of those who often heard him places him very high on the roll of American orators, and leaves little room for doubt that, with the opportunity of either of the great triumvirate, he would have achieved a wide and enduring renown.

WENDELL PHILLIPS has been for a little more than a quarter of a century known as a public speaker. American oratory is so preponderantly boisterous and convulsive—so disfigured by contortions and volcanic fervor of manner for which the matter ejected affords no adequate excuse—that he has done us good service in the eyes of the judicious by affording a striking example of eloquence without rant, earnestness devoid of vehemence, and fervor without ostentation. While the self-proclaimed antagonists of "fanaticism" have habitually indulged in a style of public discussion which inevitably suggested the vulgarisms "spread-eagle" and "splurge," this arch "fanatic" has persisted in talking to audiences as quietly, naturally, equably, as though he were conversing with a few chosen friends at his own dinner-table, and were commending the most obvious truths, instead of the monstrous and startlingly novel assumption that a man who requires and receives another's labor ought to pay *in* a stipulated price for it, and that no man should be the absolute owner of another's wife and children. "Silver-tongued" as he has been justly characterized, we think the first impression of almost every boy who hears him is that oratory is a far easier and simpler achievement than he has been led to suppose it. His words are so happily chosen and enunciated that they hardly seem to have been chosen at all.

But Mr. Phillips is far more than a great orator. He is the eminent apostle of a great renovation. In the fullness of his youthful manhood, with a prosperous and brilliant career opening brightly before him, he deliberately put aside ambition and devoted his whole energies to the uplifting of the most despised and abused class of his countrymen from the mire into which they had been trodden, and into which millions of reckless feet were fiercely trampling them deeper and deeper. He was a popular member of a proud and powerful party which stood ready to honor and elevate him; he was the ornament of a social circle more attractive, refined, and exclusive than that of any other American city; the bar, the forum, the senate, proffered him eminence and wealth; he spurned them all, and gave all he had and was to the cause of the loathed and powerless slave. He cast away popularity without affecting to undervalue it, he excluded himself from the hope of political advancement as utterly as though he had migrated for life to Dahomey, without a thought or a hope that the sacrifices he made for a detested race and a hopeless cause could be recompensed this side of the Resurrection of the Just. Surely such a consecration, such a man, whatever his speculative errors, must be appreciated and honored by every true and loyal heart.

The distinguishing characteristic of the school of Abolitionists which recognizes William Lloyd Garrison as its head, and in which Mr. Phillips insists on taking a subordinate position, is thoroughness. The absolute right of the slave to his freedom forthwith is not merely the first article of its creed—it colors and controls all the rest. Is it urged that the Bible authorizes slavery? Then so much the worse for the Bible! Does the Church impede the instant advance of the car of Emancipation? Then run the car over the Church! Does the Union require of us complicity with slaveholding? Then shiver the Union! Does the headship and rule of the husband in the family countenance the assumed authority of the master over the slave? Then away with masculine supremacy, and let Woman vote, preach, plead in court, or hold office, precisely like Man! In short, whatever justifies or fortifies the enslavement of human beings is abhorrent and execrable—let it be cast to the moles and the bats this instant and without ceremony! Such I understand to be the essence of Garrisonism.

That this heroic treatment has been at least effective, I do not doubt. And yet I do not realize that it has been *so* effective as its devotees believe and assert. Here is the radical mistake which pervades the inculcations of this school, and which discolors the fair volume now before me. I readily admit that there was a work for this school, and that they have done it at least faithfully. But it is *not* true—it is very far otherwise—though Mr. Phillips constantly assumes its self-evident verity, that the great Anti-Slavery revolution of our age and clime owes its existence wholly or mainly to Mr. Garrison and his school. I am not here contending that they were vitally wrong in their views and methods—let those who will discuss this point—I am only asserting that, whether they were right or wrong, the revolution would have occurred without them—more slowly, less thoroughly, if you will; but it would at all events have occurred. The seizure of Texas; the war in Mexico; the quarrel over the division of the booty; the Nebraska iniquity; the Kansas struggle; the brutal maiming of Sumner; the John Brown raid; the Democratic quarrel and split at Charleston, are *not* the sole work of Mr. Garrison and his *Liberator*, and Mr. Phillips ever-estimates the importance of the part played by himself and his little band in the great drama now approaching its consummation. These sworn foes of Phariseeism have a most Pharisaic conceit of their own work and its consequences, which misleads and unduly inflates them. They assail or else condescendingly patronize men who have been as faithful to their light and as useful in their sphere as themselves. This conceit often distorts and exhibits them to disadvantage. "Hitch your wagon to a star," is wholesome advice; but if you should happen to get the notion into your heap that you are drawing the star, instead of being drawn by it, you will probably be led into mischievous phantasies and pernicious eccentricities.

But enough. Mr. Phillips's Speeches and Lectures were well worth collecting; they form a chapter of the history of our age; they seem to have been well edited, and they are very tastefully and handsomely printed. Mr. Redpath has done the reading public a service for which they will doubtless amply recompense him. I doubt that any other living layman's collected speeches would sell so extensively as these. —*Independent.*

* SPEECHES, LECTURES AND LETTERS. By WENDELL PHILLIPS. Boston: James Redpath, 221 Washington st.

EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS.

To the Editor of The London Dial.

SIR: I beg to enclose a copy of a letter which I have received from Moscow, and which gives the most recent information on the working of the Serf Emancipation Act. If you consider the communication will interest your readers perhaps you will give it a place in your columns. I am, sir, yours truly,

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, Secretary.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Office,
27 New Broad street, August 8.

(COPY.)

Moscow, July 13.

"SIR: As many of your readers are interested in the great question of serf emancipation in Russia, I write you a few lines on the subject, trusting they will encourage the efforts of those who are working in the anti-slavery cause in other parts of the world.

"I have seen frequently the leaders of the serf emancipation movement both in Moscow and Petersburg, as well as in the interior. I visited the estates of Prince Cherkessy, 100 miles south of Moscow, in the government of Tola, and I was delighted with all I saw and heard. It shows without any doubt that a great and pacific revolution has been accomplished in Russia, the effects of which are calculated to be of great utility to the cause of the peasantry throughout the world.

"The great principle on which emancipation is based is the old municipal system of Russia, applied to the peasantry; a complete system of self-government. The peasants elect themselves the heads of the villages, and these correspond with the authorities.

"These heads assemble twice a month to settle disputes among the peasants. The government have appointed throughout Russia 1,600 honorary magistrates to settle disputes between the peasants and proprietors. These magistrates meet once a month in session to hear appeals from the decision of individual magistrates. I was present at one of them. It was a case where a steward brought a charge against the peasantry of not paying certain debts which they had contracted before emancipation. It was deeply interesting to watch the different parties. The independent but civil air of the peasants, who felt they were treated as men not as cattle, and on the other hand the insolent swagger of the steward, who seemed sure of gaining his case, and no doubt looked with a longing, lingering regret on the good old times when he could have sent these peasants to Siberia, and was absolute master of the life and honor of them and their families. However, he was defeated, and had to retire crestfallen. It is truly a new era for the peasants.

"Education is progressing along with social improvement. More than 8,000 schools have been opened for the peasants, and everywhere I hear of their being anxious to read, as they feel they ought to be able to read the laws by which they are governed. The peasant now feels he is a man, and as such ought to cultivate his intellect.

"Fierce was the opposition raised to emancipation, particularly by the smaller proprietors, who ground the peasant down by excessive exactions. The great proprietors were much more liberal. The men who advocated emancipation had to endure much from their countrymen, and I only wish they received more sympathy from Englishmen, as they are deserving of it, as is the Czar. Nothing could exceed his firmness and noble zeal in the question. He knew that by his course he ran the risk of losing his life, but this did not deter him.

"The demand for land is increasing rapidly on the part of the peasants. The enemies of emancipation said the land would go out of cultivation, as the peasantry would be too idle to work, but events have disproved this. I was surprised to see the care with which the peasants cultivate their land, and the eagerness with which they invest any savings they may possess in the purchase of land. They have in this the same taste as the French peasantry. Had the peasantry in Russia not got the land—of course paying rent for it—it would have led to a proletarian system most disastrous to the Russian peasant.

"I have heard from all classes of persons here but one opinion—in favor of emancipation; while even those who were opposed to it, now admit that it was inevitable, and that it was accomplished in a pacific way far exceeding their expectations.

"To enlarge on the working of it in Russia would take half a volume. Suffice it to say that, whether we regard the spread of schools, the improved habits of industry by the introduction of the peasant proprietor system, or the effect on the family relations of the peasants, emancipation is realizing all that its most sanguine friends anticipated. Yes, more; for when has there been such a revolution accomplished without shedding of blood? and the peasants had many deep-seated wrongs to avenge on the proprietors, but they forbore, strong in the sense of justice.

"Nor are the effects beneficial only for the peasant. It is a question whether the proprietor will not in many cases gain as much and certainly morally. He will no longer be so tempted by idleness, the parent of vice. The new system will require him to look after his own affairs, instead of leaving them in the hands of a grinding steward. Instead of being a mere pleasure-hunter on the Continent, he will have to live much on his own estates, and superintend in person, which will induce good habits. Instead of being surrounded by hosts of cheaply-paid domestic serfs, ready to obey his bidding whether for moral or immoral purposes, he will have to maintain fewer servants, and to exert himself more, not living in the style of an Eastern satrap.

"Emancipation is also leading to other reforms. Law reform and the principles of constitutional government are following in its train. This was the reason why the late Emperor Nicholas, though favorable to serf emancipation, would not grant it. He knew that it must necessarily break down the despotic system of which he was so great an admirer. Yet on his dying bed he admitted the not granting it as one of the great errors of his reign.

(Signed) "JAMES LONG,
(Nd Durpan)."

AN INCIDENT OF THE RIOT.

A CURIOUS incident, which escaped general attention at the time of its occurrence, happened at police headquarters. While Mr. President Acton was giving some final orders to a squad of men who were just leaving to combat the crowd in First Avenue, on Wednesday of the riot week, a wagon containing a hogshead was driven rapidly up to the Mulberry-street door by a lad, who appeared much excited and almost breathless.

"What have you there, my lad?" said the President.

"Supplies for your men," was the answer.

"What are they?"

"It is an assorted lot, sir; but the people says it's contraband."

Being exceedingly busy, the President ordered the wagon to be driven round to the Mott street entrance, where an officer was sent to look after the goods. When the wagon arrived the officers were about to tip the cask out, but were prevented by the boy, who exclaimed:

"Wait a minute; bring me a hatchet." A hatchet was brought, and the little fellow set to work unheading the cask, and as he did so the officers were astonished to see two full-grown negroes snugly packed inside. Upon being assured by the lad that they were safe, they raised their heads, took a long sniff of the fresh air, and exclaimed, "Bress de Lord!"

The boy stated that the rioters had chased the poor unfortunates into the rear of some houses on the west side of the town, and that they had escaped by scaling a fence and landing in a grocer's yard; that the grocer was friendly to them, but feared his place might be sacked if they were found there. He accordingly hit upon this novel plan of getting them out, and while he kept watch in front the boy coopered the negroes up. The cask was then rolled out like a hogshead of sugar, placed in the wagon, and driven off to Mulberry street.

A DUTCH ROMANCE.—Some thirty-four years ago, a young man left his bride in Amsterdam, with the object of proceeding to America, in order to better his position. Soon after his arrival, he wrote to his wife enclosing a certain sum of money to enable her to proceed to New York to join him. The letter was sent to his brother, who kept the money, destroyed the letter, concealed the whole matter from his sister-in-law, represented to her husband that she had died, and forthwith left the country. Her husband, in the course of time, married a second wife in New York; he was succeeding well in business, while his wife in Amsterdam regarded him as dead, and was making arrangements for her second marriage. That event, however, never occurred; for the second lover died a few days before the day fixed for the wedding. Her husband, meanwhile, last year lost his New York wife, and having made a fortune, which he was unwilling to subject to the risk of war, he disposed of his business, and a few days ago returned to Amsterdam to see once more the place of his birth. During those thirty-four years of absence, the few friends he had had died or otherwise vanished; but accident brought to light the fact that the bride he left behind him was still alive. She, indeed, during all this time had lived in comparative penury; but he is rich. The bride and bridegroom of thirty-four years ago, somewhat changed in externals, are again husband and wife, and as such propose living till death them do part, in the peaceable enjoyment of those means he has secured by a life of industry and application, spent during a matrimonial interregnum whose validity would probably be a nice question for learned heads to solve.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

DEDICATED TO UNION MEN.

Wipe out the blot! Wipe out the spot!
Jehovah's sword is flaming high!
Wipe out the blot! Cut out the rot!
In its own venom let it die!

It is the scorpion girt by fire;
Self-kindled are the flames that spread;
In its own ire let it expire,
Its own sting rankling in its head!

Wipe out the spot! Wipe out the blot!
The parricidal, horrid thing!
For him be not a freeman's lot
Who'd back to life the monster bring.

On to the long predestined end—
The march of time is moving now!
As sweeps the surge events converge
To rend the vail from Freedom's brow.

Wipe out the spot! Wipe out the blot!
The only stain our banner shows;
O! who has not bewailed the lot
That heaped on us the bondman's throes!

We stand for all our country's laws;
But now that they have rent the chain,
Who backward draws from Freedom's cause
Let him not rank with men again!

The worm that eats the root is found;
The surgeon's knife is at the sore;
Shall health abound? The tree grow sound?
Or, conscious, wither as before?

It is for life! and ours the tale
To sound to ages yet to come.
Shall fiends prevail? Shall Heaven fail?
The answer leaps e'en from the dumb.

The cancer dries the vital flow
While one polluting root remains;
And even so no healthful glow
Can spread, where Slav'ry clogs the veins.

Behold the curse! Its desp'rate bands
Are shaking now the sacred base,
Where Freedom stands with clenched hands
And sinews strained to save her race.

Let no man fear! Our Eagle yet
Will cleave the clouds and ride the wind,
Tho' Slav'ry fret, its star be set—
His flight shall leave that night behind!

Still brighter smiles shall dress the soil
Where sugar, rice and cotton grow,
And freeman's toil shall know no foil,
Though black or white his color show.

Wipe out the blot! Wipe out the spot!
Jehovah's sword is flaming high!
Wipe out the blot! Cut out the rot!
In its own venom let it die!

New York, August 22, 1863. B. T. J.

—*Evening Post.*

THE IRISH RIOTS IN NEW YORK.

From the Special Correspondent of The London Spectator.

NEW YORK, July 17.

THE Pro-Slavery Democrats have played their last card. It is a tremendous one, and was thrown down in the nick of time. The game is not yet played out, but the card is not the ace of trumps. If the recent and not yet allayed disturbances in New Nork were named in that composite way which makes the title of a bill in Parliament sometimes of such portentous length, they would be called the Roman Catholic Irish Pro-Slavery Democratic Insurrection. For, to explain this title in reverse, those who took part in them were, without exception, of the Democratic party, favorers of slavery, Irishmen (with very few exceptions) and Roman Catholics. To understand this you are to know that there are in New York about 20,000 Irishmen, with whose votes our omnivorous naturalization laws have cursed the country. With many much esteemed Irish friends I yet say this; and I think that few of the readers of *The Spectator* will disagree with me, when they consider that of this number about 19,500 were a few years ago living upon potatoes, shooting landlords, and obeying the Pope in their native bogs. These people are to a man the devoted followers of Fernando Wood (who escaped the state's prison only by the effect of a statute of limitations) and Benjamin Wood, his worthy brother, who owe their political elevation entirely to the votes of these reckless and ignorant creatures. These Woods are the active movers in the pro-slavery peace movement in this quarter; but they are at once used and scorned by men of as little political principle as themselves, though of more personal respectability. For months past they have labored without ceasing to engender a rebellious feeling among the laboring people and artisans, and particularly among the Irish. To this purpose they have chiefly used, on the one hand, a provision in the Draft law which allows the payment of $300 as an equivalent for personal service, and on the other the hatred of the Irishman for the negro. The Yankee does not hate the negro. He simply regards him as a lower species of man, with whom he has nothing in common but bare humanity, and any mingling with whom on the footing of equality is revolting and impossible. But the Irishman hates him. Upon these two raw places the pro-slavery Democratic managers applied the lash until they goaded the Irishman to madness, intending to use that madness as a weapon against the Administration and the war. They have used it, though with some indecision and remorse. It was time to use it if it were to be used at all. The victory of the army of the Potomac under Meade over Lee (which only the sagacity of Lee in knowing when he was beaten and his prudence in retreat saved from being an utter rout), the capture of Vicksburg by Grant, the certain fall of Port Hudson (which has since yielded to Banks without aid from Grant), the retreat of Bragg's demoralized army before Rosecrans, giving Chattanooga and Knoxville, the keys of the country, to the National forces, and the defection of North Carolina from the "so-called Confederate States," threatened the speedy extinction not only of the rebellion, but of the Copperhead or pro-slavery Democratic faction. Hence this savage outburst of fire and blood; the object of which was practically to nullify a law of Congress essential to the prosecution of the war in this city and State, and so throughout the free States, except perhaps in New England. I have observed this dreadful and disgraceful outbreak closely. On Saturday last, July 11, the Draft was proceeding in apparent quiet, and all apprehensions of trouble were lulled. But on that day an Irish housemaid, apparently because she was unable to keep her tongue between her teeth, told my wife that the Irishmen were going to resist the Draft to a man, and kill the Drafting officers. Every man would die at his door rather than go when $300 would get a rich man off; and "Fernandy Wud and Governor Saymoor" would stand by them. The same secret I have since discovered was similarly revealed in other families, but always by Roman Catholic girls; the Protestant house servants seemed to know nothing about it. But it was generally regarded only as mere talk, or at most as showing a disposition to make trouble at the mustering in, which would not take place for some time to come. It was unfortunate that the Draft began on Saturday; for after came idle Sunday, and then blue Monday. On Monday morning, when all commercial, professional, and manufacturing New York had been "down town" for two hours, and was well immersed in business, news came down that some men were marching through the streets to resist the Draft, and that there was some trouble at the Draft office in Forty-sixth street. The city is on a long narrow island about two miles wide; but about two miles above the junction of the rivers which wash its shores it begins to taper like a V. The point at which it begins to taper is Fourteenth street, the most fashionable quarter of the town, and which itself is a full mile and a half from the business quarter. You will see then how remote the scene of the trouble at first, Forty-sixth street, was from the centre of the city, and understand how the mob got so quickly under headway. In fact, they began their operations in the extreme outskirts of the city, just where new buildings are pushing their way into fields, over which are thickly scattered the huts and shanties of Irish squatters. Little attention was attracted by the first reports of the rioting, which, it was supposed, would be soon put down by the police. But I, remembering the warning my wife had received, left my office immediately, went home, and making myself look as untidy and inoffensively well dressed as possible, I went straight to the scene of the riot. I have found that I can go almost anywhere and among almost any sort of folk by behaving and talking to them as if I neither feared nor hated them. So I went into the mob on that day, and on Tuesday, and on Wednesday; saw what they did, heard what they said, and talked with them. Without exception, on Monday and Tuesday I found them to be Irishmen of the lowest and most brutal type. On Tuesday evening a very few Germans appeared among them, whom by their conversation I found to be Roman Catholics. So much were they under-estimated at first, that they scattered to the winds the few policemen and forty or fifty marines who were sent to quell them; the latter committing the folly of firing over their heads. This success caused an instantaneous and tremendous accession to their numbers, so that when I arrived among them on Monday about 1 o'clock they were reckoned as 6,000 strong, but they were in reality only about 3,500. I had not been among the rioters five minutes before the spirit of the riot became plain to me—it was hatred of an anti-slavery Administration; its purpose being to stop the Draft and thus cripple the war. When the second house was burnt and pillaged I stood directly in front of it, watching and talking with the actors in the scene, and their aiders and abettors. It was wonderful to see the be draggled Irishwomen swarm up from the surrounding shanties, and go into the house or houses—for there were two standing together—with the rioters and bring out plunder and carry it off to their dens. Men did the same. Whatever was in the houses which was not flung out of the windows before they were fired was carried off. Two men passed me with a rich drawingroom carpet; two lads at my side struck up a barter for a carved rosewood box on one side, and an ormolu lamp on the other. An Irishman at my side having more conscience than his fellows, lamented to me that this was done. The house ought to have been burned, he said, with all in it; for now it would be said that the Irishmen began this thing for plunder. But he added, "There are two more houses that have got to go before night." He meant that of Col. Nugent, the Provost-Marshal, and Mayor Opdyke; the former of which was burned, but the latter successfully defended. Two more houses! Before the next morning, twenty, large and small, had been consumed, and negroes had been beaten, hanged and burned in the open streets. But this man was foolish enough to think that he could put fire to a barrel of gunpowder and burn only half of it; just as the men who were behind him thought that they could explode only a pound. The time which they chose was excellent for their purpose; for there were no troops in the city except the mere corporal's guard of the militia armories; and nine miles away were only a few artillerymen. All the rest were in Pennsylvania and Maryland. The mob soon got head, and was joined by all the thieves and desperadoes in the vicinity; these being like the nucleus, or rather the mass, almost entirely of foreign birth, and generally Irish. You will see by your papers what they did; how they beat and murdered negroes, burned and robbed with impunity for a day and a half, killed policemen, military officers and unoffending citizens, and turned an Orphan Asylum full of little negroes out into the night that they might burn the building which gave them shelter. They have behaved like brutes and fiends, and from the very nature of the case, and the remote and wide field of their operations, the newspapers have not told half their atrocious deeds. Many have come to my own knowledge of which there has been no mention in print. As to the mob being pro-slavery democratic in its origin and in its purposes, that is shown by the cheers for Jeff. Davis, which I and many others have heard given by the rioters, as well as by the fact that all the houses attacked have been either those of official persons and political leaders belonging to the Republican party, United States officers, or negroes. The pro-slavery Democrats are aghast at the sight of their Frankenstein; and are loudly disclaiming all connection with the monster. But their denials are useless, and these frightful outrages will be inexorably fastened upon their leaders by even many of their old political associates. The movement will be an utter failure. It was meant to throw the city and State of New York practically out of the Union by making the Draft impossible here, and so compelling a negotiation between the Governor of the "Sovereign" State of New York and the National Administration. But the Draft will be enforced, and the pro-slavery Democrats will be extinguished as a working faction by the consequences of the very movement for which they are responsible. What I care most about, however, is that it should be known that the men who have composed these mobs and been guilty of these barbarities were not born and bred in the country. The prisoners and wounded rioters are all Irishmen.

New York Correspondence of The London Daily News.

The great mass of the ruffians who did Monday's work were, I need hardly say, Irish. A few American mechanics joined the crowd in the early part of the day, but were soon driven disgusted to their homes by the sight of the brutalities which followed. The hunting down and murder of inoffensive negroes was done by a pack of savages who come here in search of liberty and equality, and who, after having for several centuries groaned themselves under the tyranny of a caste, seem to take fiendish delight in making another race taste all its bitterness in America. There is much allowance, no doubt, to be made for ignorance, but after all, the spectacle which the Catholic Irish daily exhibit all over the world, of a race which has made the earth resound with its whinings about freedom, everywhere acting as the soldiers or bravoes of tyranny, is as disheartening a one as any that a philanthropist or a reformer can be called upon to endure. There may possibly be some excuse found in their religious sympathies for the part that such "patriots" play in European politics, but it is hard to discover what can be said for the part they play in those of America. John Mitchell's turning out here an apostle of slavery, so blatant as to disgust even slaveholders, and Richard O'Gorman's roving up and down the land lecturing in defence of the slaveholders' revolution, in deprecation of the armed defence of "liberty, equality and fraternity" against "slavery, subordination and government," and in justification of the position of the negro race both North and South, are amongst the phenomena which no lover of his kind likes to be called on to explain. The saddest pages in the history of the Irish race, much as it has suffered from foreigners, are certainly those which Irishmen themselves have written.

Ample preparations were made during Monday night for the prevention of any recurrence of the outbreak yesterday. Artillery and regulars were brought up from Governor's Island, and a large number of special constables were sworn in. In all other parts of the city, as well as in all the Eastern States, the Draft is going on quietly, and it must not be forgotten that the opposition to it here has proceeded exclusively from the scum of the population, the sediment of crime, ignorance and rascality, left in the city by each successive wave of emigration on its way westward. The horror and astonishment and mortification which it has excited amongst all classes of the community, save the one which formed the rioters, I can hardly describe. The thing is felt to be a stain on the country, and the shock which all decent Americans have received from such acts by the deliberate burning down of the Colored Orphan Asylum—for this was one of the deeds of Monday—can hardly be understood by those who do not know how deeply the native population respects both religion and charity.

The Draft has already given an immense impetus to recruiting. The $500 bounty which the discharged soldiers can have by reënlisting, and the $175 which is offered to all others, are of course lost to those who are drafted, and there is consequently a rush to the recruiting offices of all those who desire this money, and so great that I think it is very doubtful whether the government will have to ask any of the drafted men into the field.

Archbishop Hughes has addressed a concourse of 5,000 persons in front of his residence. He told them they were called rioters, but he could not see a riotous face amongst them. If they were Irishmen, as their enemies said the rioters were, he was an Irishman, but not a rioter. He recommended them to keep quiet, though in a case of a violent assault upon their rights without provocation every man had a right to defend his house or church with his life. It is a subject of much remark that the Bishop did not utter one word of reproach or exhortation against the wanton atrocities committed against the inoffensive colored population by the mob.

THE FIRST PRESIDENT.—We have not yet seen President Washington, but on our return to Philadelphia we have the honor not only of an interview with him, but on presenting our letters of introduction of an invitation to breakfast. He is tall and thin, but erect; rather of an engaging than a dignified presence. A mild, friendly man, very thoughtful and slow in speech, which makes some to think him reserved. His temperate life makes him bear his years well, though he is past sixty. We mark a certain anxiety in his countenance, the natural result of his many cares. His behavior to us is so kind and courteous that we shall ever revere his name. Mrs. Washington herself makes tea and coffee for us. On the table are two small plates of sliced tongue, dry toast, bread and butter, etc., but no broiled fish, as is the general custom. Next to Mrs. Washington sits her granddaughter, Miss Custis, a very pleasing young lady of about sixteen, and her brother George Washington Custis, about twenty years older. There is but little appearance of form, one negro servant only attending, and he has no livery; a silver urn for hot water is the only article of expense on the table. Mrs. Washington appears somewhat older than the President, though we understand they were both born in the same year. She is short in stature, rather stout, and very simply clad, wearing a very plain cap, with her grey hair closely turned up under it. She holds levees every Wednesday and Saturday at Philadelphia, during the sitting of Congress. On these occasions the ladies are seated in great form round the apartment, and have tea and coffee served to them. The President has a reception once a week, between the hours of three and four in the afternoon. If we attend one of these receptions, which we undoubtedly shall do, we shall find him in court dress, as well as the foreign ministers, always excepting the envoy from the French Republic, who makes a point of going in what, to say the best of it, is an absolute *deshabille*. —"*America Seventy Years Ago*" *in Once a Week.*

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

AFTER A SHOWER.

BY GEORGE W. BUNGAY.

The humble grass and the down-trodden weeds
Flung up their green arms with delight,
And embryo plants broke the shell of their seeds,
To let in the rain and the light.

And they lifted their heads from the softened sod,
And breathed their sweet breath on the air,
And the balm of the blossoms ascended to God,
Like the wish of a child at prayer.

Up soared the ambassador lark with a hymn
In his heart to the King of the sky,
Up over the cloud and the rainbow's rim,
To God's open window on high.

CUSTOMS IN DAHOMEY.

THE London *News* gives the following facts, gathered from the dispatches of Commodore Wilmot on his recent official visit to Dahomey. The king is a very fine-looking man, upwards of six feet high, broad shouldered, and a pleasant countenance when he likes. His eyes are bloodshot, which may arise from want of rest or other causes. He is a great smoker, but does not indulge much in the bottle. His skin is much lighter than most of his people, resembling the copper color of the American Indians. He is very active and fond of dancing and singing, which he practices in public during the "customs." He is much addicted to the fair sex, of whom he possesses as many as he likes. He is about forty-three years old. The Commodore, who was accompanied by Capt. Luce and Dr. Harón, of the Brisk, were in Abomey upwards of five weeks, and daily witnessed scenes of a very extraordinary character, such as the dancing of the amazons, their warlike songs, the dancing and songs of the soldiers, the distribution of presents to the princes, chiefs, captains and head men of the troops, the "passing" of the king's drummers, of the captains of the amazons, of the king's jesters and a variety of other people which appear before the king during the "customs." On some of the days when "customs" were going on there was a procession of the king's "treasures," including the human sacrifices, which consisted of men with their hands and feet tied, each carried in a basket by one man on the top of his head. The men were carried three times round the square, the first time stopping opposite to where the king was sitting, where the bearers received a glass of rum each from an amazon in attendance. They then passed through the gates to the platform half a mile off. The procession lasted two days, and human sacrifices passed round both days; on the first day eight went round, and the second day six; half of these were killed and "half spared—so we were told. Probably they are only spared until the next 'customs.' The unfortunate men looked at us as they passed; but it was not in our power to help them in any way." The Commodore would not witness the slaying of the men which took place, and the king on one occasion gave him one of the victims who was about to be slaughtered. With regard to the slave trade, the king said that the trade had been carried on in his country for centuries, and that it was his great means of living and paying his people. He did not send slaves away in his own ships, but "white men" came to him for them, and was there any harm in his selling? We ought to prevent the "white man" from coming to him; if they did not come he would not sell. We have seen what a great deal he had to give away every year to his people, who are dependent on him; that this could not be done by selling palm oil alone. If people came for palm oil he would sell it to them; he could not carry on his government upon that trade alone. If he gave up the slave trade, where was he to get money from. It was not his fault that he sold slaves, but those who made his fathers do it, and hence it became an institution of his country. He said, "I cannot stop it all at once; what will my people do? And besides this, I should be in danger of losing my life." The Commodore says: "I asked him how much money he would take to give it up. He replied, 'No money will induce me to do so; I am not like the kings of Lagos, Porto Novo, Benin, etc. There are only two kings in Africa, Ashantee and Dahomey; I am the king of the blacks. Nothing will recompense me for the slave trade.' I argued that it must be stopped in time; that even now very few ships came for them, and what would he do when it was all done? I found it useless to go on any further on this subject."

AN ADDRESS

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS FOR THE RELIEF OF COLORED PEOPLE.

J. D. MCKENZIE, Chairman.

Edward Cromwell,	Geo. C. Collins,
J. S. Schultz,	A. R. Wetmore,
Jona. Sturges, Treas.	J. R. Collins.

Presented by Colored Ministers and Laymen, New York, Aug. 22, 1863.

GENTLEMEN: We have learned that you have decided this day to bring to a close the general distribution of the funds so liberally contributed by the merchants of New York and others for the relief of the colored sufferers of the late riots, which have recently disgraced our city.

We cannot in justice to our feelings permit your benevolent labors to terminate, even partially, without offering some expression of our sincere gratitude to the Universal Father for inspiring your hearts with that spirit of kindness of which we have been the recipients during the severe trials and persecutions through which we have passed.

When in the pursuit of our peaceful and humble occupations we had fallen among thieves, who stripped us of our raiment and had wounded us, leaving many of us half dead, you had compassion on us. You bound up our wounds and poured in the oil and wine of Christian kindness, and took care of us. You hastened to express your sympathy for those whose fathers, husbands, sons and brothers had been tortured and murdered. You also comforted the aching hearts of our widowed sisters and soothed the sorrows of orphan children.

We were hungry and you fed us. We were thirsty and you gave us drink. We were made as strangers in our own homes and you kindly took us in. We were naked and you clothed us. We were sick and you visited us. We were in prison and you came unto us.

Gentlemen, this generation of our people will not, cannot forget the dreadful scenes to which we allude, nor will they forget the noble and spontaneous exhibition of charity which they excited. The former will be referred to as one of the darkest chapters of our history in the Empire State, and the latter will be remembered as a bright and glorious page in the record of the past.

In the light of public opinion we feel ourselves to be among the least in this our native land, and we therefore earnestly pray that in the last great day the King may say to you and to all who have befriended us, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me; come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

But as great as have been the benefits that we have received from your friendly and unlooked for charity, they yet form but the smaller portion of the ground of our gratitude and pleasure. We have learned by your treatment of us in these days of our mental and physical affliction, that you cherished for us a kindly and a humane feeling of which we had no knowledge. You did not hesitate to come forward to our relief amid the threatened destruction of your own lives and property. You obeyed the noblest dictates of the human heart, and by your generous moral courage you rolled back the tide of violence that had well nigh swept us away.

This ever memorable and magnanimous exhibition of heroism has had the effect to enlarge in our bosoms the sentiment of undying regard and esteem for you and yours. In time of war or peace, in prosperity or in adversity, you and our great State and our beloved country may count us among your faithful friends, and the proffer of our labors and our lives shall be our pleasure and our pride.

If in your temporary labors of Christian philanthropy, you have been induced to look forward to our future destiny in this our native land, and to ask what is the best thing we can do for the colored people? This is our answer. Protect us in our endeavors to obtain an honest living. Suffer no one to hinder us in any department of well-directed industry, give us a fair and open field and let us work our own destiny, and we ask no more.

We cannot conclude without expressing our gratification at the manner in which the arduous and perplexing duties of your office have been conducted. We shall never forget the Christian and gentlemanly bearing of your esteemed Secretary, Mr. Vincent Colyer, who on all occasions impressed even the humblest with the belief that he knew and felt that he was dealing with a heart-broken and a crushed people.

We also acknowledge the uniform kindness and courtesy that has characterized the conduct of all the gentlemen in the office in the discharge of their duties.

We desire likewise to acknowledge the valuable services contributed by the gentlemen of the legal profession, who have daily been in attendance at the office to make out the claims of the sufferers *free of charge*. In the name of the people we return thanks to all.

In conclusion, permit us to assure you that we will never cease to pray to God for your prosperity, and that of every donor to the Relief Fund. Also for the permanence of our country, based upon liberty, and the enjoyment of man's inalienable rights, for the preservation of the American Union, and for the reign of that righteousness in the hearts of the people, that saves from reproach and exalteth the nation.

Signed

Rev. H. H. GARNET,	Mr. JOHN PETERSON,
" CHAS. B. RAY,	" CHAS. L. REASON,
" CLINTON LEONARD,	" PETER S. PORTER,
" JOHN CARY,	" STEPHEN N. GEER,
" HENRY M. WILSON,	" JOHN R. PORTER,
" SAMPSON TALBUT,	" JOHN L. HUDSON,
" RICH'D WILSON,	" AARON F. POTTER,
" ISAAC COLMAN,	" T. S. W. TITUS,
" JOHN T. RAYMOND,	" WM. C. H. CURTIS,

And many others.

MR. THOMAS CARLYLE ON THE AMERICAN QUESTION.—Were we to adopt the Carlylean style of writing, we should say of his melancholy little contribution to the literature of the war—"Go to, thou preternatural owl, chief of the dismal ones in the Limbo of the Inane. Thine own M'Quirk, of the tribe of Sans-Gumption so called, would have made thee some Mammonism more worthy of his small art than this miserable Devil's sham of thine. Be assured, O fatuous entity! that this brazen unveracity which thou hast set up upon ugly limbs of clay is recognized of all sane animals as an impostor of its kind, and is not so much as predestined to enter the spacious Pantheon of respectable lies. Purblind Puerility! what phantom of Doubting Castle hast thou sent out, wrapped in thy No-God cant, hoping that men should notice so wretched a thing, except, perchance, as a memento of thy most melancholy decay? If meaning of words there be on this distempered planet of ours, then does this word "hire" which thou usest imply a free contract, or bargain, but that honest word, of good report and plain, open face, to me it seemeth hast thou grievously maltreated. Son of thunder! but thou art growing woef